





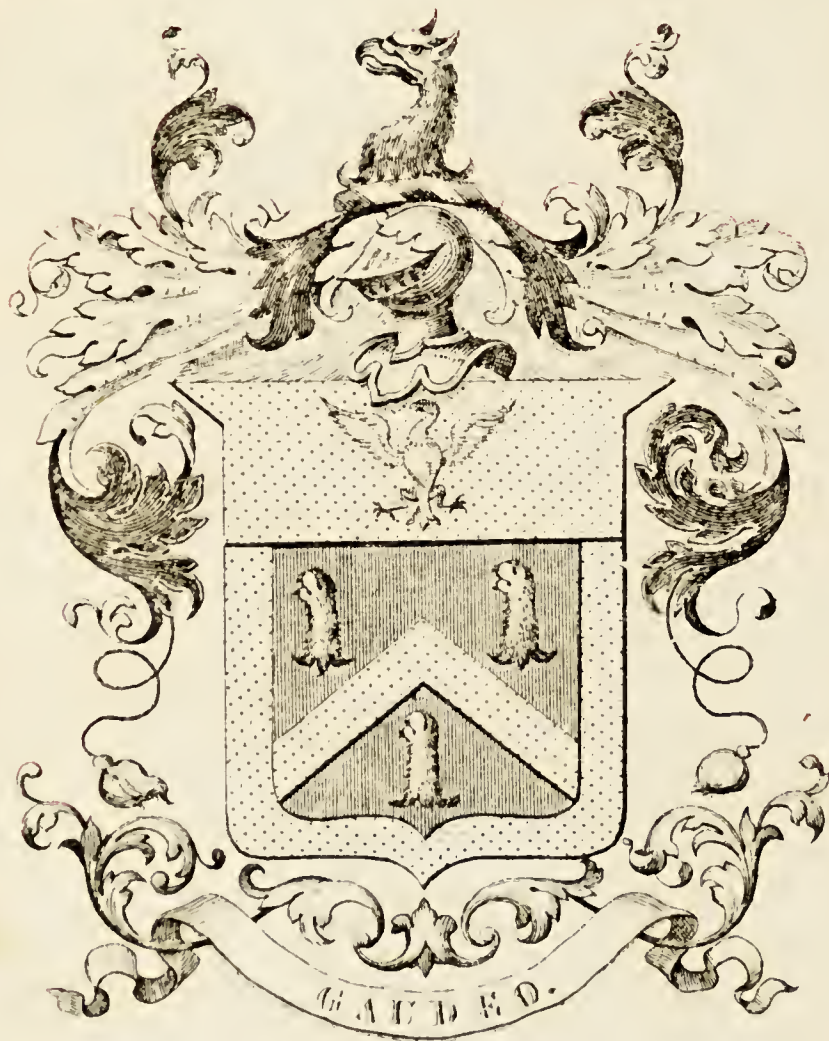
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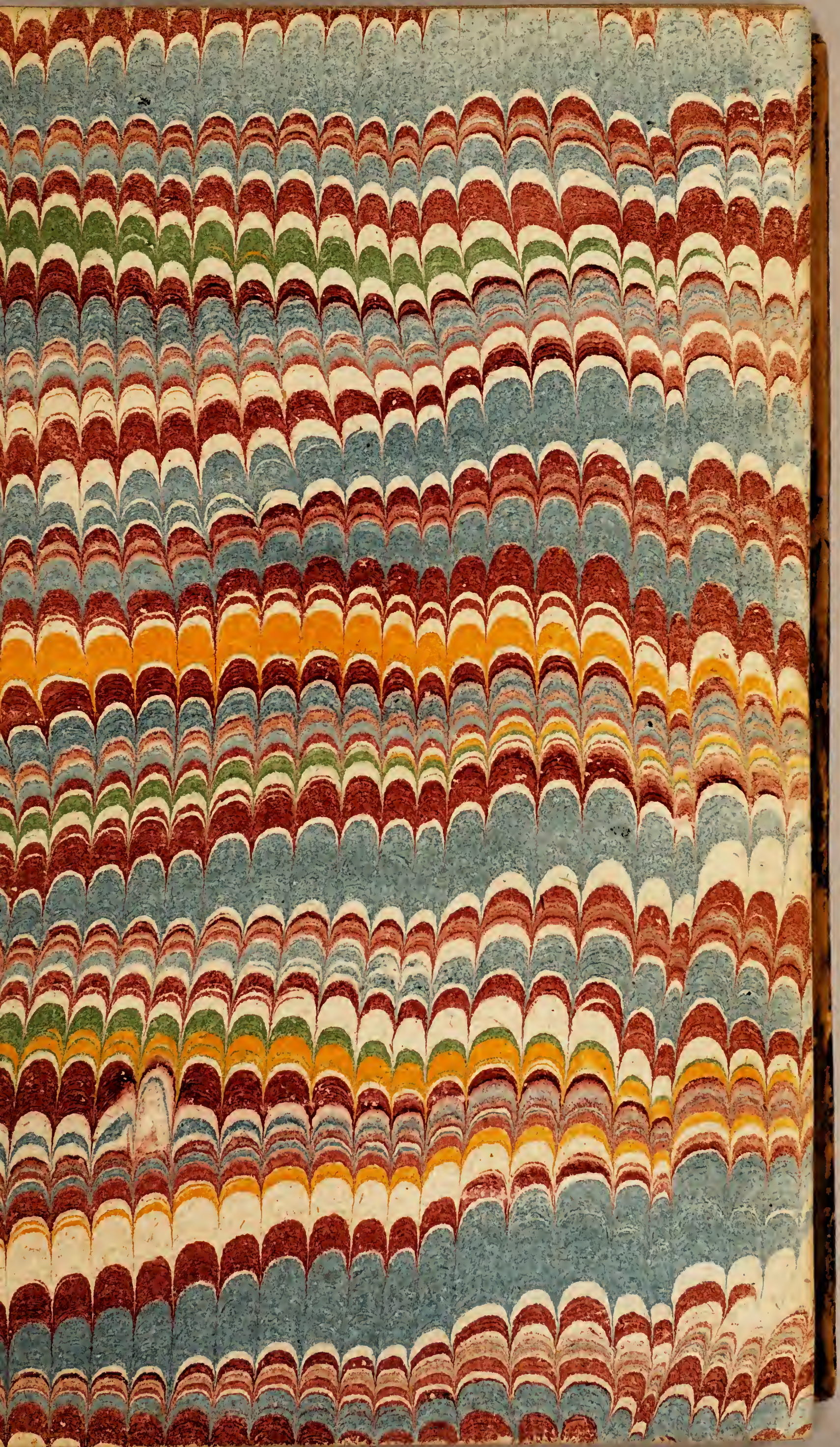
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John Carter Brown.







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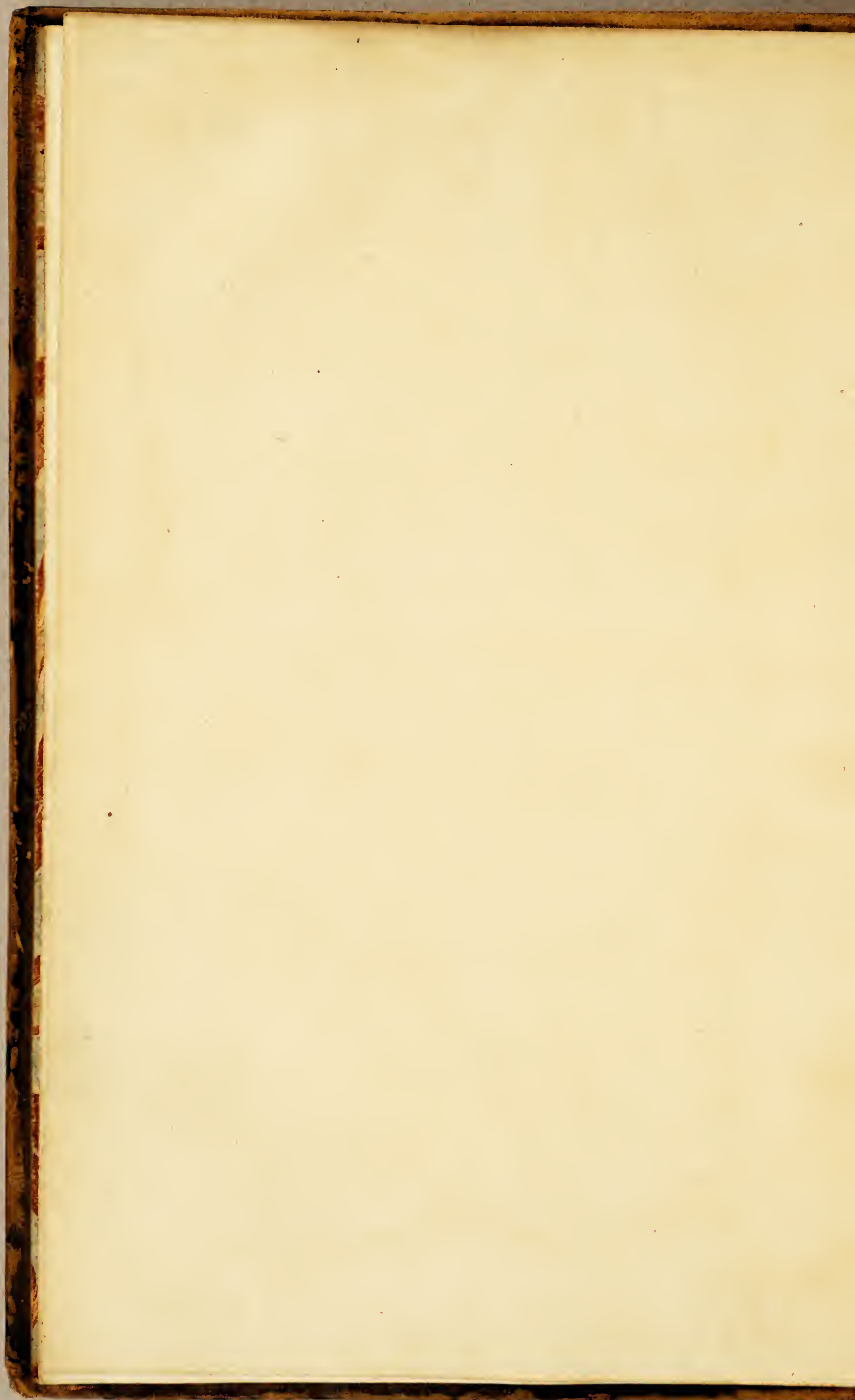


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MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Sir THOMAS MORE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF

ENGLAND,

In the Reign of HENRY VIII.

To which is added,

His HISTORY of UTOPIA,

Translated into ENGLISH ;

Describing the most perfect State of a Common-Wealth,  
In the MANNERS, RELIGION, and POLITY, of that ISLAND :

With NOTES Historical and Explanatory.

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By FERD° WARNER, L. L. D.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for L. DAVIS and C. REYMERS, over-against Gray's-  
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JOHN CARTER BROWN

TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

SIR ROBERT HENLEY,  
LORD KEEPER of the  
GREAT SEAL, &c.

MY LORD,

THE Friendship which You  
have shewed me for se-  
veral Years, the Honour which  
Your



ii DEDICATION.

Your Lordship did me on your late Promotion, and the great Favours which You have since been pleased to confer upon me, entitle me to present Your Lordship with the following Work ; and I hope without any Hazard of your Displeasure, or of an unfavourable Imputation from the ill-natured World.---But I have another title to Your Lordship's Patronage on this Occasion.

THE Sheets, My LORD, which I now presume to lay before you, contain the Life of Sir THOMAS MORE, and a Work of Imagination



## DEDICATION. iii

nation that he wrote in Latin ; which Men of Letters and Genius, Your Lordship knows, have much admired : And as these are the Life, and the Performance, of a Philosopher, a Statesman, and a very able Lawyer, who fate in the same Seat in Westminster Hall which Your Lordship now fills with such great Applause, to whom could I dedicate them with so much Propriety, as to Your Lordship? There is yet, My LORD, however, a further Similarity between Your Lordship and Sir THOMAS MORE. He went to preside in the Court of Chancery,



iv DEDICATION.

cery, under the great Disadvantage of succeeding Cardinal WOLSEY ; a Man of more Knowledge, of more Experience, and good Fortune, than any who had gone before him : And Your Lordship was called to this high Office, after it had been executed by the Earl of HARDWICKE for Twenty Years with unparallelled Reputation.

I HAVE said that Your Lordship was called to this high Office ; because the Truth is, I know, that you neither solicited, nor desired it. But as the Care of filling a Post, which this  
Great



## DEDICATION. v

Great Man had filled and resigned with so much Glory, was committed to him, and as Your Lordship's Talents in your Profession had pointed You out as the properest Person to take his Place, Your Lordship submitted, though not without Reluctance, to his Recommendation; and his Recommendation did you almost as much Honour, as the important Employment did to which it led you. I have here, My LORD, a fair Field for a fashionable Dedication; and to which, notwithstanding the Simplicity of my Temper, I find the Gratitude of my Heart inclines



vi DEDICATION.

clines me. But My Inclination, I am sensible, is not to be indulged at the Expence of Yours: And I must leave Your Lordship to the quiet Enjoyment of your own Desire, of deserving the Approbation of your Prince and Country, by a laudable Execution of the Trust reposed in you.

IF Sir THOMAS MORE, My LORD, had lived in Our Days, under so mild, so just, so good a King, as GEORGE the Second, He would have had a better Fate: And if Your Lordship had lived in His Days, I am  
sure



## DEDICATION. vii

sure You would have exerted those Abilities with Zeal---which have been so successfully exerted in the Cause of Law and Liberty---in order to save a Man from the Scaffold, whose only Crime was a deserved Popularity, and more Integrity than is convenient to Courts and Ministers. But with all his Understanding and Goodness of Heart, Sir THOMAS MORE, My LORD, had the Misfortune to be born in an Age of Ignorance and Superstition, at the very Dawn of Learning in this Island; and so his Notions of Religion, like those of most other  
other



viii DEDICATION.

other People, were according to the Times in which He lived: And if we charge to those Times, and the dreadful Genius of the Superstition He had been bred in, his Zeal against Heresy and the Cruelties which He gave into upon that Account,---and to those I think verily they should be charged---Sir THOMAS MORE, it must be owned, My LORD, will then be a perfect Character, as far as a Mortal can be perfect, without Spot or Blemish.

THERE is no occasion for Me to tell Your Lordship, that  
Cha-



## DEDICATION. ix

Characters such as this, not only adorn and do Honour to Human Nature, but also animate us in the Pursuit of every thing which is Good and Great. To this End it is, My LORD, that I hold out the Example of Sir THOMAS MORE in a new Dress to the Publick, at a Time when the Publick has but few such Examples to reform or teach it. Every Age, it is said, has its peculiar Vices and Follies: But whether this be so or not, it must be allowed, I believe, that Selfishness in the Public Service---a Contradiction almost in Terms ---will strongly characterize the present  
present



## x DEDICATION.

present Age to our Posterity. I would fain therefore, My LORD, persuade myself, that by exhibiting this Picture, I shall do something towards making us ashamed of such a little despicable Spirit, which debases our very Being ; and in this Hope I give it. For as much as I differ from the late Lord BOLINGBROKE in other points, yet I have ever agreed with him in this, “ that the Service of our  
“ Country is not a chimerical  
“ but a real Duty, and that a  
“ benevolent Man will employ  
“ all the Means that are in his  
“ Power to perform it.” I am  
now



## DEDICATION. xi

now in some sort accountable particularly to Your Lordship--- I think Every Man is so to his Country---and I am content that You should judge of My Performance of this Duty, in proportion to the Opportunities and Abilities which I enjoy.

THE Political Romance, My LORD, which fills up the Remainder of the following Sheets, has stood the Test of several Ages as a Master-piece of Wit and Fancy : And if I have endeavoured to illustrate it in such a manner as to make it Useful to my Country, in times of such Degene-



xii DEDICATION.

generacy that scarcely any thing but Works of Wit and Fancy are looked into, Your Lordship will acknowledge that the Design is laudable, how much soever I may have failed in its Execution. But perhaps, My LORD, you may have a better opinion still of this Design, when I have told you that it was first hinted to me, by a great Friend of Your Lordship's as well as Mine, the late Mr. Justice BURNET; of whom I take this Opportunity to say with Pleasure ---and which Your Lordship I am sure will allow I may say with Truth that for his knowledge

ledge



## DEDICATION. xiii

ledge of the World, and his able Judgment of Things, He was equalled by Few, and excelled by None of his Contemporaries.

BUT whilst I am Endeavouring to possess Your Lordship with a favourable Opinion of the following Work, let me not forget---what indeed was the principal End I had in this Address, and such as in ancient Time was the principal Subject of Dedications---to make a public Acknowledgment of the great Obligations which Your Lordship has conferred upon me, as



xiv DEDICATION.

a memorable Honour to Myself, and to express how much I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's

most obedient,

most dutiful,

most devoted,

humble Servant,

FERDINANDO WARNER.



## M E M O I R S

O F T H E

L I F E

O F

Sir T H O M A S M O R E.

**I**T has been long ago observed by those who understand Human nature, that Examples of Ages past, move Mankind a great deal more than those of their own Time; and Examples in Morals more than in other parts of Life. This is probably owing, in some measure, to our natural Reverence for Antiquity; wherein the Objects are not familiar to us, but viewed, at a great Distance, in their fairest Colours: And if their Blemishes and Defects are not quite concealed from us, yet, as we are not interested in them, they are greatly shaded in the  
B                      veneration



•  
veneration which we all agree to pay to the  
Illustrious Dead.

BUT whatever Principle or Affection in Human Nature this Influence of remote Example is to be ascribed to, the Fact I presume is undeniable; and the Heart of every Man may be appealed to, to confirm the Truth of it. If there is any Probability therefore, that a Great Example of our own Country, in a very distant Time, may be exhibited to the present Age with some Success, I believe it will be as much allowed, that I have made a proper Choice in Sir THOMAS MORE, as that Great Examples are wanting to excite our Virtue.—Let me introduce him then to the Reader without any other Apology.

THOMAS, the only Son of Sir JOHN MORE—a Lawyer of great Endowments and Integrity, and a Judge of the King's Bench in the Reign of HENRY VIII.—was born in Milk-Street, in the City of London, where his Father generally lived, in the Year fourteen hundred and eighty, when EDWARD IV.  
fat



sat on the Throne. His Grammatical Education was at a Free-School, of great Repute at that Time, in Threadneedle-Street ; where Archbishop HEATH, Archbishop WHITGIFT, and many other eminent Men received the rudiments of their Learning. After he had made a sufficient Progress at this School in the Latin tongue, his Father procured him to be placed in the house of Cardinal MORTON, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor ; who delighted so much in his good Parts, and his Wit, and Humour, that His Grace would often say to the Nobility who dined with him, “ This  
“ Child here who waits at the Table, who-  
“ soever shall live to see it, will prove a sur-  
“ prizing Man.” The Archbishop sent him at a very early age to Canterbury College, that which is now Christ-Church, in the University of Oxford ; where, having been instructed in Rhetorick, Logick, and Philosophy, he was first removed to New-Inn, to see common Practise, and thence soon after to Lincoln’s-Inn to study the Law ; where he continued till he became a Barrister.



AT the time of his residing at Lincoln's-Inn as a Student, he read a public Lecture in St. AUSTIN "de Civitate Dei;" to which almost all the learned men of the City of London resorted. The Reputation which He acquired by these public Lectures, procured him the Place of Reader at Furnival's-Inn; in which He continued with the same Reputation for some time: And then giving himself up to Devotion in the Charter-House, He lived there as a Religious about four years, though without any Vow, abstracted entirely from the World, and from all Science.—It is wonderful how a Man of his Turn of Mind, of such prodigious lively parts, and so much Activity and Facetiousness, could seclude himself so long from Business and Affairs to be shut up in a Cloister. But in order to take off this Surprise, we must recollect the Piety that was then in Fashion; to which He had likewise, notwithstanding his Pleasantry—supposed absurdly by the World to be incompatible—a strong and natural Inclination. He was fated however at last, with this inactive useless way of Life;



Life; and having been often pressed by Mr. COLT of New-Hall in Essex, who delighted much in his Company, to live with him, our Author left the Charter-House and went to make him a Visit. His Friend had three Daughters, who were all accomplished, handsome, and well behaved young Ladies; and giving him his Choice of these for a Wife, the Consequence of this Visit was, that He married the Eldest, merely for being such, that it might be no vexation or disgrace to her to be passed by; but his Fancy led him to prefer the Second. Upon his Marriage with this Lady, who lived with him about seven Years, He took a House in Buckler's-Bury, and prosecuted his study and practise of the Law at Lincoln's-Inn.

WHILST He was thus employed in fitting himself for his Profession, He was elected a Burgess, before he was two-and-twenty years of age, in the Reign of HENRY VII. The Design of the King in calling this Parliament, was to demand a Subsidy and three Fifteenths, for the Marriage of his eldest Daughter to the King of Scotland: And



when it was moved in the House of Commons, though the Majority were against the Demand, yet many of the Members being afraid of the King's Displeasure, and others having Reasons not more justifiable nor important, they made no Opposition to it. Here was therefore a fair Occasion for Mr. MORE, to shew his Courage and Integrity in Defence of Liberty and his Country; and this Occasion he took. He argued with such Strength and Clearness against this unjust and arbitrary Imposition, though he was then so very Young, that his Majesty's Demand was in the end rejected. Upon this, Mr. TYLER, one of the King's privy Council, who was present in the House of Commons when this Speech was made, went immediately to the King, and told him, "that a Beardless Boy  
" had disappointed all his purpose."

THIS was giving his Country a very early Pledge indeed of that Patriotism and Probity, from which nothing could ever seduce him whilst he lived. He had too much Intrepidity to be deterred by Power, and too great a Contempt for the Things of the World to  
be



## SIR THOMAS MORE. 7

be allured by the prospect of Wealth or Honour. But a Prince so tyrannical and avaricious as HENRY VII. could not fail to be much incensed at this vigorous Opposition to a Demand of Money—the favourite Measure of his Reign—in so young a Man : And we are not to wonder, that He should be determined to be revenged on him in some shape or other, that so the Courage of this rising Lawyer might give him no more Disturbance. As our Patriot, however, having nothing, could lose nothing, the King was obliged to pretend a Quarrel without any Cause, against Sir JOHN MORE his Father ; whom his Majesty ordered to be imprisoned in the Tower, 'till he had paid a Fine of an hundred pounds.—To such little and low Revenge will men of Princely Stations sometimes stoop, when they have not the power to carry it higher, rather than not gratify their resentment ; and so forfeit their Title to that true Greatness of Mind which their Dignity requires !

Soon after this Offence had been given the King in the House of Commons, Mr. MORE



having some Business with Fox, Bishop of Winchester—the favourite Minister of HENRY VII.—his Lordship took him aside ; and pretending great Kindness to him, assured him that if he would be ruled and take His Advice, He would remove the King's Resentment, and restore him to His Majesty's Favour : Intending, as it was conjectured — in a way not unusual with this Prelate—to get him to confess some personal Enmity to the King, that a Punishment might be inflicted upon him not without some shew of Reason. But He was not caught in the Bishop's Snare ; and desired some Time to consider what he should do. When He had taken his leave with this Answer, He went to his Lordship's Chaplain, who was his intimate Friend, and asked his Advice upon the Proposal that had been made him. The Chaplain, being a much honefter and a much better Man than his Lordship, dissuaded him with great Earnestness from following the Bishop's Counsel : “ For my Lord my Master,” says he, “ to serve his Majesty's Turn, will not “ stick to consent to his own Father's Death.” Upon this, we may be sure, he returned no more



more to this righteous Bishop: And He was once on the point of going abroad, as thinking it would not be safe for him to live in England, thus exposed to the Indignation of an arbitrary revengeful King. For during this time, He was obliged to lay aside his Practise, and to live in a retired manner at Home; where he diverted himself with Musick, Arithmetick, Geometry, Astronomy, and studying French; and in this Retirement he made himself a perfect Master of History.

WHILST he was thus redeeming his time, lost to his Profession as a Lawyer, by acquiring so much learning, HENRY VII. who stood in his Way, was taken out of the World: And as the Character of this Monarch will serve to illustrate this Event of our Author's Life, and explain his Conduct in it more fully than the relation of it has done, I shall stop a little to give it the Reader in its proper Colours. The Love of Money was so predominant in the Heart of HENRY, and it had made his Heart so callous against all considerations of Duty, Worth, Honour, or Reputation, that the only thing which He could  
bring



bring himself to in contradiction to this Passion, under the Stings of Conscience and a View of the Grave, was to leave Directions in his Will, that Restitution should be made to his Subjects of all the Money which had been taken from them unjustly by his Officers. He left at his Death in his Vaults at Richmond in current Coin, the immense Sum of “One Million Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds”; a Circumstance, which shews, without any other, that Avarice was the Ruling Passion of his Life; and that Money, whether gotten honourably or dishonourably, justly or unjustly, was the distinguishing Measure of all his Administration. He was free indeed from those Passions which usually dwell in the Souls of Princes: But it was not from any Principle of Virtue or Religion — as my Lord BACON would insinuate — that he attempted no ambitious Projects, that he sought Peace and not Glory, and that he was continent and not voluptuous. Ambition, Fame, and the Pleasure of Love and Wine, had no Charms for HENRY; and no wonder therefore he did not pursue them. His Secrecy and Suspicion were equalled by nothing



nothing but his Avarice and his Tyranny: And the arbitrary Power which he exercis'd, towards the latter End of his Reign especially, his insatiate Appetite to Money, his Haughtiness and Reserve, acquired him the Hatred of all his Subjects. In short, without any Vice but that of Covetousness — which drew, and always will draw, a great deal of Ill within its Circle — HENRY VII, had so few Virtues as a Man, and so few good Qualities as a Prince, that he died hated or feared by all his Subjects, and lamented by none.

His great Enemy being thus removed, and having nothing to apprehend from the reigning Prince, Mr. MORE came out of his Retirement, and appeared again in the World, to much greater Advantage, from the Study which he had employed in it with such Propriety. He had an Office in the Law immediately given him by the City of London; but whether as Under Sheriff, as Judge of the Sheriff's Court, or as Recorder, from the contradictory Accounts of him that are made public, it is hard to say. It appears most probable to me, that he was Under-Sheriff:



Sheriff: And by his Office in the City, whatever it was, and his own Practice at the Bar, being employed in all the Causes which He approved, “he gained without any Scruple of Conscience”—as he was often heard to say — “above Four Hundred “Pounds a Year”; which for that Time, we know, must have been a prodigious Sum. Indeed his Reputation for Wisdom, Learning, and Knowledge in his Profession, was become so extremely high, that before he was engaged in the Service of HENRY VIII, he was twice appointed Embassadour by his Majesty’s Consent, at the Suit of the English Merchants, in some Causes of great Consequence between them and the Merchants of the Steel-yard.

His eminent Dexterity in the Management of these Affairs having been reported to the King, his Majesty ordered Cardinal WOLSEY, then Lord Chancellour, to engage this able Man in his Service: And though the Cardinal was very solicitous to bring it about, and assured him of a larger Income than he got from the Practice of the Law, yet He  
was



was so averse to change the Condition of an independent Man for that of a Courtier,—in which his Fortune must be subservient to the Will of Kings and Ministers — that the Cardinal could not prevail upon him ; and the King for that Time admitted of the Excuse he made. It happened soon after, that a great Ship of the Pope's arriving at Southampton, which his Majesty claimed as a Forfeiture, the Legate applied to him that his Master might have such Counsel assigned him, as were learned in the Laws of this Kingdom, to plead his Cause ; and as his Majesty was himself a great Civilian, that it might be heard in some public Place in his Majesty's Presence. The King having acceded to this Proposal, and Mr. MORE being the only Lawyer of that Time, who was thought proper to be of Counsel for the Pope, and who could report all the Arguments on both Sides in Latin to the Legate, a Hearing was appointed before the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges in the Star-Chamber : And here He pleaded the Cause of his Client with so much Learning and Success, that the Forfeiture which the King had claimed



claimed was restored immediately ; and he was much applauded for his Management and Conduct in the Cause. Indeed it brought so great an Addition to his Reputation, that the King would no longer be induced, by any Entreaty whatsoever, to forbear his Service : And having no better Place at that Time vacant, made him Master of the Requests, in a Month after knighted him, appointed him one of his Privy Council, and admitted him into the greatest Familiarity with Himself.

WE are now therefore to behold Sir THOMAS MORE in a very different Scene from those in which we have already viewed him ; taken from his Practice as a Lawyer, and from the Condition of a private Gentleman, to be an Officer of State, and a Companion and a Favourite with a great illustrious King. I have said that He was taken from his private Station, because his Employment in his Majesty's Service was evidently forced upon him ; and he acquiesced in it rather in Obedience to the King, than to gratify any Passion of his own for Power and



and Grandeur. He could not but see the Obstinacy with which HENRY persevered in the Measures that he once approved; and yet how Inconstant he was in his Favour to his best and most faithful Servants. Besides, if Sir THOMAS wanted neither Courage nor Wisdom, he had together with these a natural Simplicity and open-Heartedness, which though they adorn and distinguish a Great Man, yet perhaps might give him an Aversion to the Courts of Princes; where nothing prevails so little as Truth and Candour. However when He had submitted to the King's Pleasure, we shall see nothing of that Change of Heart and Disposition, made so often by an Elevation of this Kind in other People: But the same Moderation, Integrity, and Plainness of Manners, which were conspicuous in Sir THOMAS MORE, as a Private Gentleman and a Lawyer, were still preserved by him inviolate, as a Minister of State and a Favourite of the King.

In the first years of his Familiarity, when his Majesty had performed his Devotions upon Holy-Days, he frequently sent for him  
into



into his Closet; and there he conferred with him about Astronomy, Geometry, Divinity, and other parts of Learning, as well as Affairs of State. Upon other occasions, the King would carry him in the Night upon his Leads at the Top of the House; to be instructed in the Variety, Course, and Motion of the Heavenly Bodies. These were Avocations, which the greatest Monarch might delight in with Propriety, and indulge with Dignity; and these were suitable to the Genius and Learning of Sir THOMAS MORE. But this was not the only Use which the King made of this Favourite for his own Diversion. He soon found that he was a Man of a chearful Disposition, and had a great Fund of Wit and Humour: and therefore his Majesty, when the Council had supped, and sometimes when they were at Supper, would order him to be sent for to make Himself and the Queen merry. When he perceived that they were so much entertained with his Conversation, that he could not once in a Month get leave to spend an Evening with his Wife and Children whom he loved, nor be absent from Court two Days

to-



gether without being sent for by the King, He grew very uneasy at this Restraint of his Liberty ; and so beginning by little and little to disuse himself from his former Mirth, and somewhat to dissemble his natural Temper, He was not so ordinarily called for upon these Occasions of Merriment.

THE Treasurer of the Exchequer dying about this Time, in the Year 1520, the King, of his own Motion, without any Sollicitation, conferred his Office on Sir THOMAS MORE. Within three Years after this, a Parliament having been summoned, in order to raise Money for a War with France, He was elected Speaker of the House of Commons ; an Office which He earnestly desired to be excused from, in a set Speech to the House. But as the King, who had directed his Nomination, would not consent to his Refusal, He was under a Necessity of taking it upon him. How much it was against his own Inclination, may be learnt from the Speech which He made to the King, when he was presented to his Majesty for his Approbation. The Reader perhaps may have a Curiosity, to see

C in



in what Manner a King of England was addressed on such an Occasion, above two hundred years ago ; and therefore here follows a true Copy, of what is called “ a Summary  
“ of his first Speech in Parliament.”

“ SINCE I perceive—Most Renowned Sovereign—that it is not Your Majesty’s Pleasure to reform this Election and cause it to be changed, but have by the Mouth of the Right Reverend Father in God, the Legate Your High Chancellor, thereunto given Your Assent, and have of your great goodness determined, far above my Deserts or Abilities, to repute me worthy this so weighty Office, rather than You should seem to impute unto Your Commons that they had unmeetly chosen me ; I am therefore, and always shall be, ready obediently to conform myself to the Accomplishment of Your high Commands ; most humbly beseeching your most noble Majesty, that I may, with your Grace’s Favour, before I further enter therein, make my humble Intercession to your Highness for the Grant of two lowly Petitions ; the  
“ One



S I R T H O M A S M O R E. 19

“ One privately concerning Myself, the Other  
“ this whole Assembly. For myself, Graci-  
“ ous Sovereign, that if I should chance here-  
“ after in any thing that is in Behalf of your  
“ Commons to mistake my Message, and for  
“ lack of good Utterance, by my misreport-  
“ ing, pervert or impair their prudent In-  
“ structions, it may then please Your most  
“ noble Majesty, of your abundant Grace to  
“ pardon my Simplicity ; giving me leave to  
“ repair again to them, to confer with them,  
“ and to take their more serious Advice, what  
“ Thing, and in what Manner, I shall in  
“ their Behalf speak before Your Highness ;  
“ that so their prudent Advices and Affairs  
“ be not by my Folly hindered or prejudi-  
“ ced : Which Thing if it should happen, as  
“ likely it were in me, if Your Grace’s Good-  
“ nefs relieved not my Oversight, it would  
“ not fail to be during my Life a perpetual  
“ Grudge and Heaviness to my Heart : The  
“ Help and Remedy whereof in manner a-  
“ foresaid remembered, is, Most Gracious  
“ Sovereign, my first humble suit unto Your  
“ Majesty. Mine other humble Request,  
“ Most Excellent Prince, is this : Forasmuch



“ as there be of your Commons here, by Your  
“ high Commandment, assembled for your  
“ Parliament a great Number, which, after  
“ the accustomed manner, are appointed to  
“ treat and consult of the common Affairs  
“ amongst themselves apart; and albeit, Most  
“ Dread Sovereign, that according to Your  
“ prudent Advice by your honourable Writs  
“ every where declared, there hath been  
“ as due Diligence, used in sending up to  
“ Your Highness’s Court of Parliament, the  
“ most discreet Persons out of every Quarter  
“ that men could esteem worthy thereof,  
“ whereby it is not to be doubted but that  
“ there is a very able Assembly of wise and  
“ politick Persons, yet most Victorious Prince,  
“ since among so many wise men neither is  
“ every man wise alike, nor among so many  
“ men like well-witted every man like well-  
“ spoken; and it often happeneth, that at  
“ sometimes much Folly is uttered in paint-  
“ ed polished Speech; so many, tho’ rude in  
“ Language, are of sound Judgments, and  
“ prove the wisest Counsellors; and since also  
“ in Matters of great Importance the Mind  
“ is often so taken up in them, that a man  
“ rather



“ rather studies what to say than how ; by  
 “ reason whereof the wisest man and best  
 “ spoken in a whole Country fortuneth some-  
 “ times, his Mind being fervent in the Busi-  
 “ ness, somewhat to speak so as he could af-  
 “ terwards wish to have been uttered other-  
 “ wise, and yet no worse Will had when he  
 “ spake, than when he would so gladly  
 “ change ; therefore, Most Gracious Sove-  
 “ reign, considering that in all your high  
 “ Court of Parliament, nothing is treated of  
 “ but Matter of Weight and Importance con-  
 “ cerning the Kingdom and Your own Royal  
 “ Estate, it could not fail to hinder and put  
 “ to Silence many of your discreet Commons  
 “ from giving their Advice and Counsel, to the  
 “ great Hindrance of the common Affairs,  
 “ except that Every of them were utterly  
 “ discharged of all doubt and fear, how any  
 “ thing spoken among them should be taken  
 “ of Your Highness : And in this thing, your  
 “ well known and approved Clemency, puts  
 “ every man in very good Hope ; yet such is  
 “ the Weight of the Matter, such the reve-  
 “ rent Dread that the timorous Hearts of  
 “ your natural Subjects conceive towards



“ Your Highness, our most undoubted Sove-  
“ reign, that they cannot in this Point rest  
“ satisfied, except Your gracious Bounty  
“ therein declared, put away the Scruple of  
“ their timorous Minds, and animate and en-  
“ courage them from all Doubt. May it  
“ therefore please Your Majesty, our most  
“ gracious King, of your great Goodness to  
“ pardon freely, without doubt of your dread-  
“ ful Displeasure, whatsoever shall happen  
“ any Man to speak in the discharging of  
“ his Conscience, interpreting every man’s  
“ Words, how unseemly soever couched, yet  
“ to proceed of good Zeal to the prosperity  
“ of the Kingdom, and the Honour of Your  
“ Royal Person; the happy Estate and Safe-  
“ ty whereof, Most Excellent Sovereign, is  
“ the thing all we your most humble loving  
“ Subjects, according to the most bounden  
“ Duty of our natural Allegiance, most  
“ highly desire and pray for.”

IF the Reader knew nothing of the Cha-  
racter of HENRY VIII, whom Sir THOMAS  
MORE addresses in this Speech, he would be  
surprized at the Homage paid him in it; and  
perhaps



perhaps interpret it into the Servility and Obsequiousness of the Speaker. But the known Haughtiness and Tyranny with which this King treated his Parliaments, at the same time that it exculpates Sir THOMAS, is very fully remonstrated against in it: Where under the Colour of the profoundest Awe and Veneration of him, his most gracious Sovereign is reproved, for his arbitrary Restraint of Parliamentary Debates. When the Reader considers it in this Light, he will be so far from accusing the Speaker of an abject Spirit, flattering and fawning upon his Majesty, that he will discern a great deal of Dexterity in this Composition; as an appearance of making Court to him by complying with his haughty Humour, in this submissive Language, was the only way in which the King could be reproved, or thwarted, with any Success.

THE Reader must remember that Cardinal WOLSEY was then at the Head of his Majesty's Councils, and that He was full as haughty and uncontrollable as his Master. But he met with a Man in Sir THOMAS MORE, who had more regard to his own Ho-



nour and the Interest of his Country, than He had to the good Graces and the Power of this insolent Minister. A first Minister in England who springs from a low Original, and for want of great Alliances, must stand single and unsupported, can never be too cautious how he exercises his Power: And this Caution WOLSEY took, till he had gained an absolute ascendancy over the King. But then, imagining that he had nothing to apprehend, he grew so intoxicated with his Power, that instead of keeping any measures, in order to lessen the Envy which was conceived against him, he made himself Enemies, by his Pride and Insolence, of Men of the first Rank and Abilities; and took a pleasure in bidding Defiance to their Attempts against him. We are not to wonder therefore, that he should meet with frequent Mortifications in the exercise of his Power; and that at last there should be a Combination of Men of Parts and Family, to despoil him of it with Marks of Infamy. The following Instance will serve to illustrate what I have said.

IN



IN this Parliament which had chosen Sir THOMAS MORE for Speaker, the Cardinal was much offended with the Members of the House of Commons; “because nothing  
 “was said or done there, but immediately it  
 “was blown abroad,” he said, “in every  
 “Ale-house.” On the other hand, the Members had an undoubted Right, as they thought, to repeat to their Friends without Doors whatever had passed within. It happened however, that a great Subsidy having been demanded by the King, which WOLSEY apprehended would meet with great Opposition in the Lower House, He was determined to be present when the Motion should be made, in order to prevent its being rejected. The House being apprized of his Resolution, it was a great while under Debate, whether it was best to receive him, with a few of his Lords only, or with his whole Train. The Majority of the House inclined to the first; upon which the Speaker got up, and said  
 “— Gentlemen; forasmuch as my Lord  
 “Cardinal hath not long since, as you all  
 “know, laid to our Charge the Lightness of  
 our



“ our Tongues for things spoken out of this  
“ House, it shall not in my Judgment be  
“ amiss to receive him with all his Pomp ;  
“ with his Maces, his Pillars, his Poll-Axes,  
“ his Crosses, his Hat, and the Great Seal  
“ too ; that so if he blames us hereafter, we  
“ may be the bolder to excuse ourselves, and  
“ to lay it upon those that His Grace shall  
“ bring hither with him.” The House being  
pleased with the Humour, as well as the Propriety, of the Speaker’s Motion, the Cardinal was received accordingly : And having shewn in a solemn Speech, how necessary it was for the King’s Affairs that the Subsidies moved for should be granted, and that a less Sum would not serve his Majesty’s Purpose at that Time ; but finding that no Member made any Answer, nor shewed the least Inclination to comply with what he asked, He said, with some Emotion, “ Gentlemen ; You  
“ have many wise and learned Men amongst  
“ you ; and since I am sent hither immediately from the King, for the Preservation  
“ of Yourselfes and all the Realm, I think it  
“ meet that you give me a reasonable Answer  
“ to my Demand.” But every body being still  
silent,



silent, He addrest himself particularly to  
 Mr. MURRAY; who making no Answer, He  
 put the same Question to several other Mem-  
 bers, that were esteemed the greatest men in  
 the House; and none of these making any  
 Answer neither—it being before agreed, as  
 the Custom was, to give him an Answer  
 by their Speaker—the Cardinal lost his Tem-  
 per at this contemptuous Treatment, and  
 with great Indignation said to them further;  
 “Gentlemen; unless it be the Manner of  
 “your House, as perchance it may, to ex-  
 “press your Minds in such Cases by your  
 “Speaker only, whom you have chosen for  
 “trusty and wise, as indeed he is, here is  
 “without doubt, a surprizing obstinate Si-  
 “lence.” He then required the Speaker to  
 give him an Answer to the Demand which  
 he had made, in the King’s Name, of the  
 House. The Speaker having first, with great  
 Reverence on his Knees, excused their Si-  
 lence, as being abashed at the Presence of so  
 noble and extraordinary a Personage, pro-  
 ceeded then to shew him by many Argu-  
 ments, that it was not expedient nor agree-  
 able to the ancient Liberty of the House, to  
 make



make an Answer to his Majesty's Message, by any other Person, how great soever, than some of their own Members: And in Conclusion He told his Eminence, "that though  
"they had all trusted Him with their Voices,  
"yet except every one of them could put  
"their several Judgments into his Head, He  
"alone in so weighty a Matter was not able  
"to make a sufficient Answer to his Grace." The Cardinal taking Offence at the Speaker for this evasive Answer, and for not promoting the Subsidy, rose up on a sudden, and departed in great Displeasure with the whole House.

It is very certain that Sir THOMAS MORE had seconded the Motion for complying with the King's Demand, when it was first moved in the House, and thought it absolutely necessary for carrying on the War. But He had a mind to distinguish, between the reasonable Demands of the King, and the Insolence of his Minister; and therefore played off this Farce against him in the House of Commons: Nor was this done perhaps with a View of only mortifying the Cardinal, but  
it



it might be also probably to let his Majesty see, by this contumelious Usage, that the Person of his Minister was not acceptable to the Parliament. But be this as it might. The Speaker, in a few Days after, being in WOLSEY's Gallery at Whitehall, his Eminence complained to him of this ill Treatment with great Vehemence ; and reproaching him for his Ingratitude, said, " Would  
 " to God you had been at Rome Mr. MORE  
 " when I made you Speaker". To this Sir THOMAS replied, " Your Grace not offended,  
 " so would I too, my Lord" : And then to divert him from his ill Humour, which would probably have vented itself in some indecent Language, he began to commend the Cardinal's Gallery ; and said that he liked it better than his other Gallery at Hampton Court.

BUT though He put an End to his Reproaches by this Digression, yet he did not put an end to his Resentment. For afterwards by way of Revenge, when the Parliament was up, WOLSEY persuaded the King to send him Emdassadour into Spain ; com-  
 mending



mending his Learning, his Wisdom, and Fitness for that Employment ; and considering the Difficulty of the Business that was to be negotiated, assuring his Majesty, that no body was so able to serve him in it. The Cardinal not only gratified his Resentment, by sending him into a Country which he knew would be disagreeable to him, but he might also think it expedient to put such a Man as Sir THOMAS MORE out of the Way ; whose Popularity was at that Time extremely high, and who had had the Courage to make Sport of him in such a public Manner, when all the rest of the World stood in Awe of his Pride and Insolence. But whatever were his Views in recommending him for this Employment, when his Majesty told Sir THOMAS that he had design'd him for it, the Knight took the Liberty to remonstrate freely against it ; telling him, the Nature of that Country, and the Disposition of his own Mind were so opposite, that he should never be likely to do him Service ; and that if his Majesty persisted in the Resolution of sending him on this Embassy, he knew for certain it would be sending him to his Grave : Nevertheless,  
if



if it was necessary for the King's Service, though he spoke his Mind so fully against that Destination, He was ready, according to his Duty, to fulfill his Majesty's Pleasure, at the utmost Peril of his Life and Fortune. When the King had heard what He had to say, though Candour and Condescension were not natural to HENRY VIII, his Majesty was pleased to admit his Excuse : Assuring him withall very graciously, that His Meaning was not to do him any Hurt, but to do him Good; and therefore he would think of some other Person for that Embassy, and employ His Service in something else.

ACCORDINGLY, upon the Death of Sir R. WINGFIELD in the Year 1528, Sir THOMAS MORE was appointed Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster; and admitted into such an high Degree of Favour with the King, that his Majesty would sometimes come, without giving him any Notice, to his House at Chelsea, in order to enjoy his Conversation upon common Affairs. He made him an unexpected Visit of this sort one day to Dinner; and walked afterwards with him in his  
Garden



Garden for an Hour, with his Arm about Sir THOMAS's Neck. This was such a Demonstration of His Majesty's Kindness and Familiarity, that He was no sooner gone, than Mr. ROPER, son in law to Sir THOMAS, judging only from this Appearance, observed to him with great pleasure, "how happy He must  
" be to have the King distinguish him with  
" such Marks of Favour, as he had never  
" seen him shew to any one before, except  
" once to Cardinal WOLSEY." But so far was He Himself from being elated with this Honour, or putting any Confidence in it, that he replied to him as follows: "I thank our  
" Lord, Son, I find his Grace to be my very  
" good Lord indeed; and I believe that he  
" does as much favour Me at present as any  
" Subject within this Kingdom. But yet,  
" Son, I may tell thee, I have no Cause to  
" be proud of it; for if my Head would  
" win him a Castle in France"—with whom the King was then at War—"it would not  
" fail to be struck off".

THIS is an evident Demonstration, of how little Value Sir THOMAS MORE esteemed the  
Favour



Favour of HENRY VIII; and that he was well assured, whatsoever Shew of Friendship his Majesty made to any one, yet he loved no Body but as it served his purpose—a Character of this Monarch, which is but too well verified in the whole Course of his Reign. But if he had not discerned the fickle and ungrateful Temper of this King, the Honours which He received from him, great as they were, would have been attended with no disagreeable Effects in the Mind of Sir THOMAS MORE. There are but few Instances in our History, or our Knowledge, of Ministers who had so large a Share of their Master's Favour, who have behaved themselves with That Moderation towards those below them, which He always shewed even to those who gave him any Offence. For there was so much Mildness and Sweetness in his natural Temper, that he could never be provoked to such Expressions as denoted Anger and Resentment against his bitterest Enemies; as we learn from the Testimony of his Son-in-Law, who was continually conversant with him for above sixteen Years together.



INSTEAD of exerting his Power, in order to crush or silence those who opposed or slandered him as a Minister, He thought, as their Arrows did not hit him, he received more Benefit from them than from his Friends : And it seems it was the Opinion of Sir THOMAS MORE, that no Minister who was innocent of the Charge against him, would treat his Accusers with Insolence, or persecute them with Power. Nor was his Modesty and Humility less remarkable than his Meekness and Good Nature. For if any Men of Learning, who came to him from the Universities, or from foreign Parts, chanced to enter into Dispute with him—and in Dispute there were not many who were comparable to him — and he found that they could not maintain their Argument with any Credit against him; then, lest He should discourage them too much, or should seem to seek Truth less than his own Fame and Victory, he would break off the Discourse by some Digression of Wit and Humour, and pursue the Argument no further. In short, He had attained to such a perfect Temper of Mind, either by Nature or Religion, that

He



SIR THOMAS MORE. 35

He was neither allured to his Duty by the Hope of Profit or Popularity, nor deterred from it by the Fear of Loss or of Evil Tongues; but in all his Fortunes good and bad, He still enjoyed one and the same Alacrity: As in the further Account of his Life will fully appear.

INTELLECTUAL Endowments, natural or acquired, are in themselves of little Worth; especially if we compare them with the Goodness of the Heart and Temper. But I should be unfaithful to the Memory of Sir THOMAS MORE, if I did not mention his Eloquence, and the Readiness of his Invention. He was so famed for these Accomplishments, that whenever the King made a Visit to the Universities—where His Majesty was received with polite and learned Speeches—He was always appointed to make an Extempore Answer for the King; as the Man of all his Court the most able for the Undertaking. During the Time that He held the office of Chancellor of the Dutchy, he was twice Embassadour to the Emperor, joined once in Commission with Cardinal WOLSEY, and on



another Occasion to the King of France. When he came to any foreign University in his Travels, he desired always to be present at their Readings and Disputations; and would sometimes dispute amongst them Himself with great Readiness and Learning, to the Admiration of all the Auditory.

To his Meekness, Humility, Fortitude, Integrity, and Quickness of Parts, we may add his Benevolence and extensive Love of Mankind. As a Proof of this, the Reader, among many others, may take the following Instance. As He was walking one day with his Son in Law by the Water-Side at Chelsea, and discoursing very seriously on the State of Public Affairs, he said to him, “ Now  
“ on Condition that Three Things were well  
“ established in Christendom, I would to our  
“ LORD, SON ROPER, that I were put here  
“ into a Sack and presently thrown into the  
“ Thames !” Mr. ROPER expressing a great Surprise at this unusual Zeal, and desiring to hear his Motives which had induced him to it; “ Wouldst Thou know,” said he, “ what  
“ they be? In faith then they are These.  
“ The



“ The first is ; that where the greatest part  
 “ of Christian Princes are now at mortal  
 “ War, they were at universal Peace. The  
 “ Second, that where the Church of CHRIST  
 “ is at this time sore afflicted with many Er-  
 “ rors and Heresies, it were settled in a per-  
 “ fect Uniformity of Religion. The Third  
 “ is ; that whereas the King’s Marriage is  
 “ now brought in Question, it were to the  
 “ Glory of GOD, and the Quietness of all  
 “ Parties, well concluded.” Other People  
 might say as much as this in Public Assem-  
 blies, and on some great Occasions ; but it  
 would not be so easily believed perhaps as in  
 SIR THOMAS MORE : Because the same Be-  
 nevolence of Temper, which moved Him to  
 lay these Things so much to Heart, shone  
 through the whole Course of his Life : And  
 it appeared from every Instance, that all his  
 Time and Labour were employed entirely in  
 the Service of GOD, the King his Master, or  
 his Country, without any Regard to his own  
 Emolument. Nor with all his great Preten-  
 sions—which no body could surpass, and Few  
 could equal, in that, or any other Age—did  
 He ever ask his Majesty for the Value of a



Penny, either for his Family or Himself in any part of his Life; as he was often heard to declare at his latter End.

It is impossible to proceed any further in the History of Sir THOMAS MORE, without stopping a little to make a Reflection on his disinterested public Virtue as a Patriot Minister. We have here the Instance of a Man of the first Abilities in the Kingdom, who, without any Patrimony, or any other Subsistence than what he drew from his Employment, had the Courage and Integrity to oppose on some Occasions, which He thought detrimental to his Country, the Measures of the King and his Ministers; in a Reign, when Opposition to them was so far from being Fashionable, or a Step to Power, that it was very seldom seen, and almost as seldom left unpunished. But this Opposition was solely with a View to prevent Oppression and Injustice to the People; and not be taken off, with a Bribe of Honour or Power, to promote the same Measures, which in the same House He had before condemned. He had not Pravity of Heart to conceive, nor Forehead



head of Brass enough to assume such open base Dissembling: And when Places were conferred upon him without his Sollicitation, He still retained his Integrity towards his Country; though under a Prince the most impatient of Controul and Contradiction that ever filled the English Throne. He did not lose the Idea, as well as the Name, of Patriot, as soon as he was in possession of a lucrative Employment: Nor did He crowd his Relations into the Posts of public Service, who might with more Propriety have been employed in some of the lowest Scenes of Life. But in the Conduct of this Man in the State and in the Senate, Patriotism might be viewed with a real Lustre: Not with a false or uncertain Blaze, wavering between the Measures of the King and People; or under the Colour of serving his Country, meaning nothing more than to acquire Power, and to promote his own private Interest.

It was observed of Sir THOMAS MORE, that the Ignorant and the Proud, even in the highest Stations, were of all People Those



whom He shewed the least Respect to: But on the other hand, He was a Patron and a Friend to all the Men of Letters; and held almost a continual literary Correspondence with all the Learned in Christendom. Of all Foreigners, ERASMUS appears to have had the greatest Share of his Love and Confidence; who after a Series of mutual Letters, expressing their Esteem and Affection for each other, came to England on purpose for the Benefit of his Conversation. There is a Story told of their first Meeting, which I think would not deserve to be recorded, if it did not relate to Two such Great Men, who figured so ably in the Learned World, when the Resurrection of Letters had but just made its way.—The Story which I mean is this. The person who conducted ERASMUS to London at his coming over, contrived, it seems, that Sir THOMAS and He should meet, without knowing it, or without any Introduction to each other, at the Lord Mayor's Table; which in those days was open—as perhaps it should be in all Times—to Every Man of Learning of Every Nation. A Dispute arising at Dinner, ERASMUS, in order to  
shew



shew his Learning, or for the Sake of Argument, endeavoured to defend the wrong side of the Question. But he was assailed and opposed so sharply by his Friend, that perceiving he was now to argue with an abler man than he had ever met with, he said in Latin with some Vehemence, and not without a little Peevishness, "You are either MORE, or "No-body;" to which Sir THOMAS replied in the same Language with great Vivacity, "You are either ERASMUS, or the Devil;" for his Argument had a Tincture of Irreligion. It is probable that the same Subject had been debated in the Correspondence which they had held by Letter; and the same Thoughts from each of them being repeated in this Dispute, they were naturally led to conjecture who each other was.

THOUGH Sir THOMAS MORE, we find, lived much at Court, and was a Mirthful Man, and a Man of Business, yet it appears that He had a different Sense of Religion upon his Mind, from what Courtiers and Men of Business have in the Times we live in. For we are told it was his constant Custom, besides  
his



his private Prayers, to read the Psalms and Litany with his Wife and Children in a Morning; and every Night, to go with his whole Family into the Chapel, and there devoutly read the Psalms and Collects with them. But because He would sometimes retire even from his Family, and sequester himself from the World, he built at some distance from his Mansion House, a Gallery, Library, and Chapel; where, as on Other days he spent some Time in Study and Devotion, so on Fridays He continued the whole Day; employing it in such Exercises, as he thought might best improve his Mind in Religious Subjects.—I will not take upon me to say, that All this Piety was the Effect only of his own Goodness of Heart, and in no degree owing to the Fashion of the Age. He might practise some of it perhaps as a Fashion, but it is certain that his Mind had a natural Turn to Devotion; which, with all the Virtues of Christianity in his Deportment, gave an amiable Uniformity to his public and private Life.

THE great Offices which He executed—  
and



and which he always executed with a Splendour fuitable to their Dignity—obliged him to keep many Servants; but he never permitted any of them to be Idle. He invented and assigned some Avocation or other to every one of them, when they were not abroad attending upon him; that they might not acquire a Habit of Sloth, and to keep them from Gaming, and other profligate Practises, of which Idleness is the Source. Let not the Reader imagine from hence, that He was an Austere and Splenetick Man, given up entirely to Devotion and Philosophy, without Amusements, or a Taste of Pleasure. He was the furthest from it of any Man in the World. His Pleasures indeed were innocent and rational, such as became a sensible Man and a Christian; and his own Conversation, in which he unbended from Study, was as full of Pleasantry as that of any man of his Time. He had also Hours of Relaxation, which were filled with Musick, and such other serene Amusements, in his Family every Night. But He had always a person to read whilst he was at Table, in order to prevent all improper Conversati-

on



on before the Servants : And at the End of the Reading, He would ask those who were at Dinner how they understood some particular Passages which had been read ; from thence taking Occasion, to improve or divert the Company. His Instructions at those Times, were chiefly levelled against the Pride of Dress ; against following corrupt Examples that were in Fashion ; against Ambition and Discontent ; and against Idleness and a Love of the World. Many Lessons of this Kind He taught his Wife and Children, every Day at their Meals, when the Servant had finished Reading.—What an Example is here, and what a Reproach to the Conversation at the Tables of the Great in these Days !

LET us pause here for a Moment to take a View of the different Pictures : It may do no great Honour to the present Age ; but perhaps it may do some thing towards reforming the Follies which it abounds with. Indeed, if we keep this Regulation in our Eye, whilst we survey the Management of the Families of the greatest part of our Modern People of Fashion, one shudders at the Comparison.

In



In the first, we see a Spirit of Devotion, and a Sense of Religion, which guides and animates the Whole; every one engaged in some Employment or other suitable to their Station; no Leisure allowed for sauntering and Morning Idleness, which dissipates the Mind through all the rest of the Day; no licentious nor slanderous Discourse at Table; no indecent Revelling; no riotous nor rude Intemperance; no vicious expensive Gaming; but with innocent Recreations of Mirth or Musick, all is chaste, all is orderly, all is sensible, and decorous. In the last, shall I say?—I am afraid I may say—there is no Spirit of Devotion, no Thoughts of God, no Sense of Religion to direct any Part of it; every one left at Liberty to be Idle the greatest part of their Time, or to be employed, if they please, in any Folly, or in any Vice; where Routs, Drums, and Gaming of all Sorts, make up the greatest part of the Business of the Whole Family; where there is no Moral Instruction for Children; no Care of the Mind in Servants; nor Attention to any thing serious in Themselves; but all is Dissipation, all is disorderly, all is irregular, and absurd.

— The



— The Colouring of this Picture may perhaps be strong, but it cannot be denied that it has a true Resemblance. I return therefore with Pleasure to Sir THOMAS MORE.

WHILE He was Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, the See of Rome became vacant, to which WOLSEY made Pretensions; and by the means of the Emperor, into whose Favour he had insinuated himself, at which he hoped to arrive. But CHARLES recommending Cardinal ADRIAN, and procuring him to be fixed in the Papal Chair, WOLSEY was so enraged at the Disappointment, that he was determined to revenge himself of the Emperor at all Events. In order to gratify this Revenge, it is pretended by most Historians, that the Cardinal took Advantage of the Fickleness and Inconstancy of his Master to seduce him from Queen CATHERINE, the Emperor's Aunt, and to recommend to him one of the Sisters of the King of France, at that Time in open War with CHARLES. But it does not appear to me that this is true. It is certain there is no other Authority, for placing the Scruples which HENRY had  
about



about the Validity of his Marriage to the Account of Cardinal WOLSEY, than the Queen's own Suspicions, which might be groundless : And if what the King said is true, “ he  
“ had been uneasy on the Score of his Marriage with her above Three years before ;  
“ and the Cardinal did neither first suggest,  
“ nor cherish them, but did all he could to  
“ remove them out of his Thoughts.” If the Reader has an Inclination to trace the Source of this Event, I must refer him to the Second Volume of my Ecclesiastical History of England, lately published ; in which he will find it developed, in a way somewhat different from most other Historians.

It was necessary to mention this Affair here, in order to introduce what is to follow : But I have no other business with it than to observe, that the King, pretending to have great and religious Conflicts in his Mind about the Validity of his Marriage, communicated them to Sir THOMAS MORE ; requiring his Advice, and shewing him certain places of Scripture, which in some measure seemed to serve his purpose. When the  
Knight



Knight had looked them over, he excused himself from giving any Opinion about it; as one who had not profest Divinity; and therefore as unfit to meddle in Questions of that nature: But his Majesty, being well assured of his Qualifications, would not admit of his Answer; and pressed him with so much Vehemence to give his Advice upon it, that in conclusion he consented to the King's Request. However, because it was a Business of so much Weight and Importance, and required Study and Deliberation, He besought his Majesty not to be in Haste, and to give him Time enough to consider it coolly. The King was content that He should do so; and told him, that CLARK and TUNSTALL the Bishops of Bath and Durham, with some more of his Privy Council, should confer with him about it.

SIR THOMAS, having consulted the Exposition of some of the ancient Fathers, upon the Places of Scripture which the King had noted down, at his next coming to Court, enter'd readily into Discourse with his Majesty upon the Subject. Of all Men in the World,

HENRY



HENRY VIII. was the least open to Conviction from Reason, when Reason contradicted his Inclination; and therefore finding no Impression was to be made upon his Majesty, at last Sir THOMAS said, “ To be plain with  
 “ Your Grace, neither my Lord of DURHAM,  
 “ nor my Lord of BATH, though they are  
 “ both of them vertuous, wise, and learned  
 “ Prelates; nor Myself with the rest of Your  
 “ Privy Council—being all of us Your Ser-  
 “ vants, and greatly indebted to Your Maje-  
 “ sty’s Goodness—are in my Judgment pro-  
 “ per Counsellors for Your Grace upon this  
 “ Point. But if Your Majesty please to un-  
 “ derstand the very Truth, you may have  
 “ such Counsellors to consult, as neither for  
 “ Respect of their own Worldly Profit, nor  
 “ for fear of Your Princely Authority, will  
 “ deceive you :” And then named JEROME,  
 AUSTIN, and several other ancient Fathers  
 both Greek and Latin, producing the Opini-  
 ons he had collected out of them. But these  
 not agreeing with the King’s Desires, it is ex-  
 pressing it softly to say, that He did not very  
 well approve of what had passed. Sir THO-  
 MAS however used such Discretion in his

E

Con-



Conversation with his Majesty afterwards on the Subject, that, Self-willed as the King was, he did not take it ill of him, and often conferred and argued with him at other Times upon it.

I SHALL relate no more of the Debates upon this famous Question, that made so much Noise all over Europe—which the Reader may find discussed at large in my History above mentioned—than what concerns our Author. Let it suffice then to say at present, that the King intending once to proceed no farther in his Divorce, appointed TUNSTALL and Him to go on an Embassy to Cambray, in order to mediate a Peace between the Emperor, his Majesty, and the King of France. The Peace was effected accordingly; and He acquitted himself in the Negotiation with so much Dexterity, and procured so much greater Advantages to the Kingdom than were thought possible, that for his eminent Services in that Employment, His Majesty afterwards gave him the Great Seal, and made him Lord Chancellor, upon the Fall of Cardinal WOLSEY. But upon his Return  
from



from Cambray, the King had changed his Mind; and being determined to carry the Divorce into Execution, He was as solicitous to get Sir THOMAS MORE's Approbation as he was before. Most certain it is however, that the King, in a Conversation which he had with him upon it, told him, " That  
 " though at the time when He went to Cam-  
 " bray, his Majesty despaired of his second  
 " Marriage with the Lady ANN BOLEYN, yet  
 " he had now some Hopes that he should be  
 " able to bring it about. For though his  
 " Marriage with the Queen, being against  
 " the positive Laws of the Church, and against  
 " the written Law of God, was in some Mea-  
 " sure set right by the Dispensation from  
 " Rome; yet there was another thing found  
 " out of late, by which his Marriage with  
 " her appeared to be so directly contrary to  
 " the Law of Nature, that it could in no wise  
 " be dispensible by the Pope." Of this, he  
 told him, STOKESLY—then newly made  
 Bishop of London, and much in the King's  
 Secrets—could more fully inform him. But  
 though He had a Conference with the Bishop,  
 according to his Majesty's Command, yet He



saw nothing of so much Force as could induce him to change his Sentiments. The Bishop however reporting their Conference to the King, spoke so favourably of him, and of his Desire to see something in his Majesty's Cause which might enable him to be of his Side, that the King was not offended; and soon after, as I have said, made him Lord Chancellor.

It has been believed by some Historians, that one of the chief Reasons which induced his Majesty to give the Great Seal to Sir THOMAS MORE, was to procure his Approbation of the Divorce and second Marriage: But as there is no Authority, so I think there is no Foundation, for this Opinion. The King had seen too many Proofs of his Integrity to believe it could be shaken by such a Method; and He was of all his Court perhaps the Last, upon whom any thing but Conviction could work a Change. But whatever might be his Majesty's Views in this Promotion, when our Author was invested with the Office of Lord Chancellor, He was conducted through Westminster Hall, to his Place in the Court



Court of Chancery, between the Dukes of NORFOLK and SUFFOLK: where the Former assured the Audience, that He was charged by the King himself, in a special Commission, to declare openly to them all, how much England was indebted to the Chancellor for his good Service, how worthy He was of the highest Preferment in the Kingdom, and how dearly his Majesty loved and confided in him. “ He hath perceived no Man in the whole “ Realm,” added his Grace, “ to be more “ Wise in deliberating, more Sincere in open- “ ing to him what he thought, nor more “ Eloquent to adorn the Matter which he “ uttered. Wherefore because he saw in “ him such excellent Endowments, and that “ of his special Care he hath a particular De- “ sire that this Kingdom and People might “ be governed with all Equity and Justice, “ Wisdom and Integrity, He of his own most “ gracious Disposition hath created this sin- “ gular Man Lord Chancellor; that by his “ laudable Performance of this Office, his “ People may enjoy Peace and Justice, and “ Honour also and Fame may redound to the “ whole Kingdom. Wherefore receive this



“ Your Chancellor with joyful Acclamations ; at whose Hands you may expect all  
“ Happiness and Content.”

THE Reader has by this time seen so much of his Character, that he will not be surprized to hear, that Sir THOMAS MORE was much abashed at this Speech of the Duke of NORFOLK's, which sounded his Praise so very high : But when he had recollected himself, as well as the Time and Place would give him leave, he made a sensible, modest, and becoming Answer. After many Expressions of his own Unworthiness, of his Unwillingness to be a Courtier, of his Gratitude and Dutifulness to the King, and above all of his Aversion to this high Office, which was a Weight unsuitable to his Weakness, a Burden and not a Glory; a Care and not a Dignity—promising however to do the best he should be able—He looked round towards the Seat, and proceeded thus—“ But  
“ when I look upon this Seat ; when I  
“ think how great, and what kind of Personages have possessed this Place before  
“ me ; when I call to mind who He was  
“ that



“ that last of all, a Man of what  
 “ singular Wisdom, of what known Expe-  
 “ rience, what a favourable and prosperous  
 “ Fortune he had for a great Space of Time,  
 “ and how at the last he had a most grievous  
 “ Fall and died inglorious; I have Cause  
 “ enough by my Predecessor’s Example, to  
 “ think Honour but Slippery, and this Dig-  
 “ nity not so grateful to Me as it may seem  
 “ to Others. For it is a hard matter to fol-  
 “ low with like Paces or Praises a Man of  
 “ such admirable Wit, Prudence, Splendour,  
 “ and Authority; to whom I may seem but  
 “ as the lighting of a Candle when the Sun is  
 “ down. Then the sudden and unexpected  
 “ Fall of so great a Man as He was, doth  
 “ terribly put me in mind, that this Honour  
 “ ought not to please me too much, nor the  
 “ Lustre of this glittering Seat dazzle my  
 “ Eyes. Wherefore I ascend it as a place  
 “ full of Labour and Danger, void of all solid  
 “ and true Honour; which the higher it is,  
 “ so much greater Fall I am to fear; as well  
 “ in respect of the Nature of the Thing it-  
 “ self, as because I am warned by this late  
 “ fearful Example. This therefore shall be



“ always fresh in my Mind, this will I have  
“ still before my Eyes, that this State will be  
“ honourable, famous, and full of Glory to  
“ me, if I shall with Care and Diligence, Fi-  
“ delity and Wisdom endeavour to do my  
“ Duty ; and if I shall persuade myself that  
“ the enjoying thereof may chance to be but  
“ short and uncertain : the One of these my  
“ Labour ought to perform, the Other my  
“ Predecessor's Example may easily teach me.  
“ All which being so, you will readily per-  
“ ceive what great Pleasure I take in this  
“ high Dignity, or in the Praises of this most  
“ noble Duke.”—Moreover, in Conclusion,  
He declared to this effect : “ That as He  
“ had been charged in the King's Name to  
“ do equal Justice to the People without  
“ Corruption or Affection, so He charged  
“ them now again in His Turn, that if at  
“ any Time, or in any Circumstances, they  
“ saw him digress from his Duty in that ho-  
“ nourable Office, so as they would discharge  
“ even their own Duty to God and their Fi-  
“ delity to the King, that they should not  
“ fail to inform his Majesty ; who might  
“ otherwise have just Occasion to charge his  
“ Fault



“ Fault to their Account.”—If we consider that this Speech was made Extempore, upon the most difficult of all Subjects, a Man’s Self, above two hundred years ago in these very Words, we shall allow that Sir THOMAS MORE was not reputed Eloquent without reason.

WE have now traced him from his Birth, to the highest Post in the Kingdom which a Lay-Man can possess ; and we are next to see with what Integrity and Approbation He acquitted himself in it. In a very short time after his Entrance into the Office, a surprizing Alteration was perceived by every body. Notwithstanding WOLSEY’s great Abilities and Incorruption as a Chancellor, yet He had that excessive Pride in his Composition, that He would scarcely look or speak to any one of common Rank ; and it was difficult to be admitted into his Presence only, without giving Money to his Officers and People about him. On the contrary here was now a Man presiding in the Court of Chancery, who the poorer and meaner a Suitor was, the more affably He would speak to him, the  
more



more attentively He would hear his Business, and the more readily He would dispatch it. For this purpose He was wont commonly every Afternoon to sit in his open Hall; that if any person whatsoever had a Suit to prefer to him, he might come to him without Bills, Sollicitors, or Petitions, and open his Complaints before him. His Son-in-law Mr. DAUNCY found fault with him once between Jest and Earnest for this extraordinary Favour and Condescension; telling him when WOLSEY was Lord Chancellor, that not only many of his Privy Chamber, but his Porters also, got a great deal of Money under him: “And since I have married,” says he, “one of your Daughters, and attended upon you always at your House, I think I might expect to get something too. But you are so ready to hear every man, poor as well rich, and your Doors are so open to all who come, that there is no getting any thing under you. Whereas otherwise, some for Friendship, some for Kindred, and some for Profit, would gladly use my Interest to bring them to you. I know I should do them wrong if I should take any  
“ thing



“ thing of them ; because they might as  
 “ readily prefer their Suits to you themselves :  
 “ and this, though I think is very commend-  
 “ able in You, yet to me, who am your Son,  
 “ I find is not profitable.” “ You say well  
 “ Son,” said the Chancellor, “ I am glad you  
 “ are of a Conscience so scrupulous ; but  
 “ there are many other ways that I may do  
 “ good to Yourself, and pleasure your Friends.”  
 Then instancing in some of these, He added,  
 “ Howbeit this one thing, Son, I assure thee  
 “ on my Faith, that if the Parties will call  
 “ for Justice at my Hands, then though it  
 “ were my Father whom I love so dearly  
 “ stood on one side, and the Devil whom I  
 “ hate extremely, stood on the other, his  
 “ Cause being good the Devil should have  
 “ Right.”

WHEN we consider his whole Character, it  
 is very easy to credit this Assertion of himself ;  
 and that He would not digress from Justice  
 in the smallest matter for any Consideration.  
 The Reader may take the following Instance,  
 among many, as a Proof of this Integrity.  
 Another of his Sons-in-law, Mr. HERON,  
 having



having a Cause depending, was advised by the Chancellor to put it to Arbitration: But he presuming on his Father's Favour and not agreeing to his Proposal, the Chancellor upon hearing the Cause made a Decree directly against him. As few Injunctions as He issued, whilst he was in Possession of the Great Seal, to stop Proceedings at Common Law, yet they were disliked by some of the Judges: And Mr. ROPER acquainting him with what he had heard of this Complaint, the Chancellor assured him that they had no Cause to find Fault with him on that account, as He himself should be convinced. Upon this Information, He ordered the chief of the Six Clerks to make a Docket of the whole Number, and the Reason, of all the Injunctions which had already passed in his Time, or then depended before him. This being done, He invited all the Judges to dine with him in the Council Chamber at Westminster Hall: And after Dinner, having opened to them what Complaints he had heard of his Injunctions, he shewed them the Number, and explained the Reasons of them all so clearly, as upon a mature Deliberation it was confessed by the whole



whole Bench, that in the like Causes they should have done the same thing themselves. Upon this He made them an offer, that if the Justices of every Court—to whom by reason of their office the Reformation of the Rigour of the Law more especially belonged—would upon reasonable Considerations, as He thought they were bound in Conscience, mitigate the Rigour of the Law themselves by their own Discretion, He would grant no more Injunctions: But they refusing this, he said, “Forasmuch as you Yourselfes,  
 “My Lords, drive me to that Necessity for  
 “awarding Injunctions to relieve the Peo-  
 “ple’s Injuries, you cannot hereafter any  
 “more justly blame me.”

IN order to prevent any vexatious frivolous Suits, He gave directions to all the Sollicitors of his Court, that no Subpœnaes should be issued out of the general matter, of which He should not have proper Notice, with their several hands to the Bill: And if upon looking it over He found it a Cause of Complaint that deserved hearing, he would set his Hand to it, or else it should be cancelled. He was  
 so



so indefatigable in his Application to Business, that when He had presided in the Court of Chancery about two Years, having finished a Cause and calling for the next that was to be heard, He was answered that there was not One Cause more depending : And this He ordered to be set down on Record.

AT the same time that He was Lord Chancellor, his Father Sir JOHN MORE was one of the oldest Judges in the King's Bench ; and it was a very unusual sight in Westminster Hall, to see two such great Seats filled by a Father and a Son at the same Time. There was another Sight however still more surprising : For if the Court of King's Bench was sitting, when the Chancellor came into the Hall, He went first into that Court, and there kneeling down in the sight of every body asked his Father's Blessing : And when they happened to meet together at the Readings at Lincoln's Inn, He always offered the Precedence to his Father, which, on account of the high Post as Chancellor, Sir JOHN always waved. These Instances of filial Piety, which served to fill up the Uniformity of his Life, were



were very laudable; and may be taken notice of by others with great Propriety. Let those who boast to the World, impertinently enough, of their own Piety in this Respect, take care to imitate his Humility, Liberality, and other Virtues; or else it will be suspected, that the Boasting, if not the Piety itself, is vain: And let it cover the Faces of Others with Confusion, who by lucky Accidents have risen to great Emoluments in the Church from a very low Original, and yet leave their Parents to toil on in their primitive Indigence and Obscurity; much more to the Scandal of these Reverend Gentlemen, than if they drew their Parents out of their Poverty, and owned their Relation to them.

As little Leisure as the Chancellor could have to study the Holy Scriptures, the Controversies in Theology, and such sort of Subjects—being in a manner employed always in the King's Affairs, or in the Business of his Profession—yet He was a Man of that extraordinary Application, that He wrote several Books relating to Religion, and in its Defence,



fence, particularly one against TINDAL'S Heresy, whilst he was Speaker of the House of Commons : And though they are written with much Bitterness, yet the Reader should be told it was in the way of the Age as others wrote against Him, and contrary to his own humane and benevolent Disposition. The Bishops, to whose Province it more especially belongs to write such Books, had no great Regard at that Time to the Episcopal Care ; and were very well pleased to have an Excuse, for not performing their own Duty in this Respect, from the Works of Sir THOMAS MORE. But if they had not Learning or Application themselves, it must be confessed that they had—what is not to be found in every Age—a generous Regard to Merit in other Men. For considering, that notwithstanding the King's Favour, He had amassed no Riches, nor had such an Income from his Employments as his great Worth deserved, it was agreed in Convocation to make him a Present of Four or Five Thousand Pounds—a prodigious Sum in those Days—as a Recompence for his Pains in writing so many Books of Religion. To the Payment of  
of



of this Sum, every Bishop, Abbot, and others of the Clergy, contributed liberally according to their Abilities; hoping that such a Present would not be unacceptable to him.

ON this Occasion, TUNSTALL Bishop of Durham, CLARK Bishop of Bath, and VESEY Bishop of Exeter, were deputed to wait upon him in the Name of the whole Body; to let him know “how much they esteemed  
 “themselves obliged to him for his Labours  
 “in God’s Service, which had discharged  
 “them from such Works: And though they  
 “could not requite him according to his Deserts, as they gladly would, and must refer  
 “his Reward to the Goodness of God, yet  
 “to shew their Sense of his great Merit,  
 “and in consideration that his Estate was by  
 “no means equal to it, they presented him  
 “in the Name of their whole Convocation  
 “with a Sum which they hoped He would  
 “accept of.” But as a Greatness of Soul and a Contempt of Riches was the distinguishing Character of our Author, He generously refused it; telling them, “That as it  
 “was no small Comfort to him, that such  
 F “ Wife



“ Wise and Learned Men so well accepted  
“ of his Works—for which He never intend-  
“ ed to receive any Reward but at the hand  
“ of God—so He thanked this Honourable  
“ Body very kindly for their bountiful Con-  
“ sideration.” As much as He was known  
to despise Money, yet considering his Cir-  
cumstances, and the Largeness of the Pre-  
sent, it was not expected that He would have  
refused it. But when the Bishops found,  
after the most importunate Sollicitation, that  
He would not accept it, they desired that He  
would give them leave to present his Family  
with it. This offer was as fruitless and in-  
effectual as the other; and the Answer which  
He made, and well deserves to be remem-  
bered, shews no less the Goodness than the  
Largeness of his Soul. “ Not so My Lords,  
“ indeed: I had rather see it all cast into the  
“ Thames, than that I or any of mine  
“ should have a Penny of it. For though  
“ Your Lordships Offer is very friendly and  
“ honourable to me, yet I set so much by  
“ my Pleasure and so little by my Pro-  
“ fit, that in good faith I would not for a  
“ much larger Sum, have lost the Rest of so  
“ many



“ many Nights Sleep as was spent upon these  
 “ Writings : And yet I wish for all that,  
 “ upon Condition that all Heresies were sup-  
 “ pressed, that all my Books were burnt and  
 “ my Labour entirely lost.” After this Re-  
 pulse, the Bishops found it was in vain to try  
 him further ; and so were obliged to carry  
 the Money back again, and restore to every  
 one the Sum that he had contributed.

BUT amidst all the Encomiums which I  
 think are due to the Memory of Sir THOMAS  
 MORE—and all of them too little to set forth his  
 Praises as they deserve to be set forth—I must  
 not conceal from the Reader, what was a great  
 Allay to all his Virtues, his furious and cruel  
 Zeal in the Persecution of Hereticks. Much  
 of this however, if not the Whole, must be  
 attributed to the Ignorance and Superstition  
 of the Age and Religion He had been bred  
 in : For in his own natural Temper He was  
 the furthest from Cruelty and Ill-nature of  
 any Man in the World ; and this is not the  
 only Instance, where a Zeal for Religion has  
 served to make a sweet Disposition fierce,  
 and to render a Man worse by Grace than



He is by Nature. But perhaps this Allay might be permitted in him by Providence, to shew us that even the Best among Mortal Men have their Frailties and their Errors, and that there is no Perfection on this Side Heaven.

HAVING taken Notice of the little Wealth which He had accumulated, both at first in his great Practice, and afterwards in his great Employments, the Reader perhaps will expect, that I should say something of the way in which He spent his Income. Some Entertainments, and not many, were made for the Nobility and Men of Fashion; which were rather necessary in his Offices than for the Sake of Pomp and Luxury. But all his poor Neighbours, and indigent Men of Merit, were not only often feasted at his Table, but relieved also with Liberality when their Wants required it. He had a Soul that was above hoarding up, in a sordid manner unsuitable to his Dignity, the Emoluments of his Profession, or his Places under the King, in order to establish a Name, and to raise a Family—the lowest of all Human Vanities: And therefore after the Necessaries of his Household



Household were properly taken Care of, his Whole Appointment was swallowed up in public and private Charities. He hired a House at Chelsea, where he lived, for several ancient People that were past their Labour, whom he maintained : And He made it the Charge of his Favourite Daughter, to see that they wanted nothing necessary to their Age and their Infirmities. A little before He was Lord Chancellor, He built a Chapel in this Parish for public use ; and provided all the Ornaments as well as the Necessaries at his own Expence, giving a great deal of Plate for the Communion Service. In short, as his Heart was always open to the Wants and Calamities of his Fellow Creatures, so his Purse was never shut, when any Occasion offered in which He thought he might be of Service, either to the Bodies, or the Souls of Others.

In a short time after he was in possession of the Great Seal, the King importuned him often to reconsider the important Point of his Divorce : Supposing that he had now so much obliged him, by giving him this high Office,



that He could not decently refuse concurring with his Majesty's Inclinations, in—what was called—“ his great Affair.”—But the Chancellor, valuing more the Quiet of his own Conscience, than the Favour of any Prince in the World, “ besought his Majesty to “ continue the same gracious Sovereign to “ him that he had ever been ; and to believe there was nothing in the World had “ gone nearer to his Heart, than to find He “ was not able to discover any thing in that “ affair, by which, with the Integrity of his “ Conscience, He could serve his Majesty to “ his Satisfaction. For He had always remembered the godly Expression of his “ Majesty, when he first admitted him into “ his Royal Service ; and which was the “ most virtuous Lesson that ever Prince “ taught his Servant—First to look unto “ God, and after God unto Him—as in good “ faith He did and would ; or else might his “ Majesty well account him his most unworthy Servant.” The King answered him very courteously, that if his Lordship could not in Conscience serve him in it, his Majesty was content to accept of his Service otherwise ;



wife; and he would take the Advice of those of his learned Council in this Business, whose Consciences did not revolt at it: Assuring him nevertheless, that he would continue his wonted Favour to him, and no more molest his Conscience on that Subject.

THE King might probably intend what he said at that Time; and it would have been happy for the Chancellor, and prevented a great Stain upon his Majesty's Honour, if He had persisted in this Intention. But in sometime after, having made a further Progress in the Business of his Divorce, and being determined to marry the Lady ANN BOLEYN at all Events, the King called a Parliament, in order to disclose his Resolution and to carry it into Effect: Accordingly the Lord Chancellor was commanded by his Majesty to go down to the House of Commons with some of the Bishops and Temporal Peers, to acquaint them with the Opinions of the foreign Universities on the Subject of his Marriage, as well as those at Home; to which they had set their Seals as being unanimous. This was a Message disagree-



able enough to the Chancellor, we may suppose; but as it was not irregular, according to the Usage of Parliament at that Time, and as He was not under a Necessity of making any Declaration of his own Opinion on this Subject, He obeyed the King's Command. He had willingly concurred in the Statutes of "Premunire and Provifors;" as being of the same Mind with those, who were for cutting off the illegal Jurisdiction, which the Popes had exercised in England. But He saw now by the King's Designs, that a total Rupture would follow; and He was not willing to go the Lengths which the Court intended against the Catholic Cause. He had moreover some invincible Objections, as we have seen, against the Divorce: And being apprehensive that some further Attempts would be made in it, which by virtue of his Office and yet contrary to his Conscience He must be engaged in, He never ceased, from this Time, solliciting his great and intimate Friend the Duke of NORFOLK, to intercede with his Majesty that He might deliver up the Seal; for which, through many Infirmities of Body, he said, He was no longer fit. The Duke resisted  
his



his Sollicitation as long as he could, being very unwilling to part with him out of that high Office; for which his Grace was well assured He was the ablest Man in the Kingdom. But being pressed so often by him to this purpose, the Duke at length applied to the King, and obtained his Majesty's Permission, that the Chancellor might resign.

WHEN He waited upon the King at a Time appointed, in order to deliver up the Seal, his Majesty received it from him with great Reluctance, and with many Thanks and Commendations for his excellent Execution of that important Trust: And at the same Time he assured him, that for the good Services he had done his Majesty and the Kingdom, in any Request which He should have Occasion to make which either concerned his Interest or his Honour, He should find that his Majesty would be always kind to him. How well HENRY fulfilled this Promise, and discharged his Obligations to this excellent Man, who had been in his Service and Intimacy above Twenty Years, the Sequel will tell to the King's eternal Infamy.

As



As Sir THOMAS MORE had sustained the Office of Lord high Chancellor for above Two Years and a Half, with more Adroitness, Wisdom, and Integrity, than was ever seen in it before, so He retired from it with a Greatness of Mind, equal to any thing that was pretended by the ancient Philosophers in such Cases ; not being able to defray the necessary Expences of his private Family, when He had divested himself of this Employment.

ABOUT the Time of his Resignation, died in extreme Old Age his Father Sir JOHN MORE ; whom He often visited and comforted in his Illness, and to whom He expressed the utmost Tendernefs and Affection of filial Piety in his expiring moments. This was an Event however which brought him a very inconsiderable Encrease of Fortune ; because the greatest part of his Father's Estate, with his Seat at Gubbins in Hertfordshire, were settled upon his Second Wife, who outlived Sir THOMAS many Years ; and therefore He enjoyed but little Inheritance from his Father. When He had delivered  
up



up the Seal, He wrote an Apology for Himself; in which He declares to the Publick, “that all the Revenues and Pensions which he had, by his Father, by his Wife, or by his own Purchase, except the Manors given him by the King of his mere Liberality”—which from a King to such a Servant are not worth the naming—“did not amount to the Value of fifty Pounds a Year.” — Strange indeed it will appear in this Age, that a Privy Councillor, who had gone through so many great Offices, as we have seen, for above Twenty Years, and who had been all his Life an abstemious Man, should not have been able to purchase an Hundred Pounds a Year. But such was his great Charity, and such his greater Contempt of Money!

THE Day after he had resigned the Seal, which his own Family knew nothing of, He went as usual, it being an Holy-Day, to Chelsea Church with his Wife and Daughters: and after Mass was over—it being customary for one of his Gentlemen to go to his Lady to tell her the Chancellor was gone out of Church



Church—He went himself to the Pew-Door; and making her a low Bow, said, “Madam, “my Lord is gone”. But she knowing his Pleasantry, and apprehending this to be some Joke, took little Notice of it. However, as they were walking Home, he assured her very seriously, that what he had said was true; having resigned his Office of Lord Chancellor to the King the Day before. When she found that He was in earnest, and as she was a Worldly minded Woman, being much chagrined at it, she replied in her accustomed Manner, “Tilly Vally, what will “you do Mr. MORE? Will you sit and make “Goslings in the Ashes? What, is it not “better to rule than to be ruled”? But to divert the ill Humour which he saw she was in, he began to find Fault with her Dress; which she chiding her Daughters for not seeing, and they affirming that there was no Fault to be found, He replied with great Mirth, “Don’t “you perceive that your Mother’s Nose is “somewhat awry”? Upon which she went from him in a Passion. It must be confessed that this is a trifling Story to relate in the Life of so great a Man: But the Reader must



must observe, that the Characters of Men are learnt best from Trifles. It is related here however to shew, that his facetious Humour was natural to him without any Affectation; and that Power, Honours, and great Revenues, had no Charms for Him, who could part with them so freely, and with such a Mirthful Temper of Mind. It will likewise shew, it was his Opinion, that in his Conduct as a Statesman, his Lady had no Right to be consulted, or to intermeddle.

THE first thing that he set about after the surrender of his Office, was to provide Places for all his Gentlemen and Servants among the Nobility and the Bishops; that they might not suffer by any act of his. This being done to his Satisfaction, He next called all his Children and their Husbands round him; and telling them that He could not now, as he was wont and still gladly would, bear all their Expence Himself, asked their Advice what they should do that they might continue to live together, as He much desired: And finding them all silent, He told them that though he had been brought up from  
the



the lowest degree to the highest, yet he had now in yearly Revenues left him but a very little above an Hundred Pounds a year ; so that hereafter, if they lived together, they must be contented to become Contributors. Notwithstanding the King had taken him from his Profession, and employed him in the most important Services to Himself and the Kingdom, during the best part of his Life, yet He made so little Advantage of His Majesty's Service, or that of the Public, that all the Land which he ever purchased,—and he purchased it all before he was Lord Chancellor—was not above the Value of twenty Marks a year : And after all his Debts were paid when he resigned that Office, he had not left in Gold and Silver, his Chain excepted, the Worth of one Hundred Pounds. Is not this a sufficient Proof of the Truth of what I have said of his unexampled Patriotism ; and that He gave up the Office of Lord Chancellor, with a Greatness of Mind that equalled any thing which was pretended to by the Philosophers of ancient Time ?

AFTER He had once resigned the Seal, He  
never



never meddled with any Affairs of State : But lessening his Family by disposing his Children into their own Houses, He gave himself up wholly to Study and Devotion, and to write Books of Religion. He knew too much of the cruel inconstant Temper of the King to his best and most faithful Servants, not to know that when his Majesty could not gain him to his Designs by gentle Methods, that he would use him with Rigour ; and therefore he prepared himself for the Storm which he foresaw was likely to fall upon him. He was indeed so perfectly well acquainted with the King's Temper, that He frequently foretold what would happen to him from it to his Wife and Children. Nay He once hired a Pursuivant to come suddenly to his House whilst he was at Dinner, and knocking hastily at the Door to summon him to appear before the Council the next Day : And this he did, to arm his Family the better against the Calamities which he found approaching.

BUT his first Troubles began on account of an Impostor, called " The Holy Maid of  
" Kent";



“ Kent”; who affirm’d that she had Revelations from God to give the King Warning of his wicked Life, and of the Abuse of the Authority committed to him. In a Journey to the Nuns of Sion, she called on Sir THOMAS MORE; and declaring her pretended Revelations to him, He was brought in by the King’s Direction as an Accomplice with her. However, when the Bill of her Attainder was to be read the third Time in the House of Lords, they address’d his Majesty to know his Pleasure, whether Sir THOMAS, who was mentioned in it, at least as a Concealer of her Treason, might not be heard to speak in his own Defence. The Presumptions which lay against him as countenancing this Impostor, appear no further than by his sending a Letter to her, which much offended the King; and by some Conversations which he had with her, from his Opinion of her Holiness and Humility. But it appears that He thought then very meanly of her Understanding; because in his Letters to his Daughter ROPER, He always called her “ the silly Nun”. He justified himself however of all the Intercourse he had with her, in several



veral Letters to Secretary CROMWELL ; in which he said, He was convinced now, that she was the most false dissembling Hypocrite that had been known. But these Justifications availed him nothing.

THE King being highly incensed against him for not assenting to the Divorce and his second Marriage, and forgetting all his faithful Services, was determined to push him with this Bill of Attainder : Imagining that the Terrors of such a Bill would work upon him to relent, and to approve his Measures. When Sir THOMAS therefore desired to be admitted into the House of Commons to make his own Defence against the Bill, His Majesty would not consent to it ; but assigned a Committee of Council to call him before them and hear his Justification. His Justification however was a mere Pretence, and scarcely ever touch'd upon in this Examination by the Lords ; for they, if not the King, were well assured that he was in no Conspiracy with the Nun of Kent. But as He had been the First Man in Rank, and was always one of the First in Reputation and Abi-

G

lities,



lities, the Point intended was to draw him, by fair Words or Threatnings, to give a Public Assent to the Divorce and second Marriage. To this purpose the Lord Chancellor made a great Parade of the King's extraordinary Love and Favour to Sir THOMAS in the many Offices his Majesty had bestowed upon him, which He might still have continued in; and of his Inclination now to grant him any Honour or Advantage which He should ask at his Majesty's Hands: Hoping by this Declaration of the King's Kindness, to bring him to consent to that out of Gratitude, which out of Conscience He had refused.

AFTER assuring them of the Sense he had of the King's Goodness to him, and of his own Readiness to do every thing that would be acceptable to his Majesty, He told them  
“ that he had hoped He should never have  
“ heard again of this Business; since he had  
“ always from the Beginning informed his  
“ Majesty of his Sentiments in it; which the  
“ King had accepted not ungraciously, and  
“ had even promised that He should never  
“ be



“ be molested more about it. But however  
 “ He had found nothing, since the first Agi-  
 “ tation of this Matter, to persuade him to  
 “ change his Mind; if he had, it would  
 “ have given him a great deal of Pleasure.”

The Committee of Lords appointed on this  
 Occasion, consisted of Archbishop CRAN-  
 MER, the Lord Chancellor AUDLEY, the  
 Duke of NORFOLK, and Secretary CROM-  
 WELL; and all of them in their Turn en-  
 deavoured to persuade him by such Argu-  
 ments as they thought likely to win him.  
 But when they saw that nothing could have  
 any Influence upon him to induce him to  
 change his Mind, they told him “ it was the  
 “ King’s Command, if they could not bring  
 “ him over by Gentleness and Persuasion, to  
 “ charge him with Ingratitude; and to in-  
 “ form him that his Majesty thought, there  
 “ never was a Servant so villainous, nor a  
 “ Subject so traiterous to his Prince, as He:  
 “ And in support of this heavy Charge against  
 “ him, they were to alledge his subtle and  
 “ sinister Devices, in procuring his Majesty  
 “ to set forth a Book, to his great Dishonour  
 “ throughout all Christendom; by which



“ He had put a Sword in the Pope’s hands  
“ to fight against Himself.”

WHEN the Lords had finished what they had to say to him in his Majesty’s Name, He told them “ that these Terrors were Arguments for Children, and not for Him : But “ as for the Book which they had mentioned, “ He could not bring himself to believe that “ the King would ever lay it to his Charge, “ who knew better than any body the Circumstances that could acquit him of it. “ His Majesty knew that He had not procured, nor counselled the Writing of this “ Book ; and when He revised it by the “ King’s Command, and found the Pope’s “ Authority defended and advanced very “ highly, that He remonstrated against it to “ his Majesty, and told him that as he might “ not be always in Amity with the Pope, He “ thought it best that it should be amended “ in that point, and the Pope’s Authority be “ more slenderly touched ; to which the “ King would not consent. Upon this He “ put his Majesty further in mind of the “ Statute of Premunire, which had pared  
“ away



“ away a good part of the Pope’s pastoral  
 “ Cure : To which his Majesty had replied,  
 “ that whatsoever Impediment be to the con-  
 “ trary, we will set forth that Authority to  
 “ the uttermost, for we received from the  
 “ See our Crown Imperial ; which till it was  
 “ told him from the King’s own Mouth He  
 “ never heard of before. He trusted there-  
 “ fore when his Majesty should be informed  
 “ of this, and call his Conversation with him  
 “ to Remembrance, that the King would  
 “ thorowly clear him of this Charge himself.”

THE Lords having nothing to reply to a  
 Vindication so clear and ample, the Confer-  
 ence was broke up : And Mr. ROPER obser-  
 ving Sir THOMAS to be extremely Chearful  
 at his Return, asked him if his Name was  
 struck out of the Bill of Attainder, that He  
 was in such good Spirits. The Knight told  
 him “ He had forgotten That ; but if he  
 “ would know the Reason of his Mirth, it  
 “ was that He had given the Devil so foul a  
 “ Fall ; and had gone so far with those  
 “ Lords, that without great Shame indeed  
 “ He could never go back from what he had  
 G 3 “ said.”



“ said.” When the Lords of the Committee made a Report of the Conference to the King, in which Sir THOMAS had had the Courage to vindicate himself at his Majesty’s Expence—for it was little less than charging him with a known and deliberate Falshood—HENRY was so exasperated, that he told them plainly the Bill of Attainder should proceed against him.

As the Duke of NORFOLK, and Secretary CROMWELL, had a particular Friendship for Sir THOMAS, they endeavoured all that was in their Power to dissuade the King from this Resolution; assuring him that they found the Upper House were fully bent on hearing him in his own Defence before they would pass the Bill; and if his Name was not struck out it was much to be apprehended that the Bill would fall to the Ground. But the King had nothing yielding in his Composition; and being ever bent on carrying the point which he had undertaken, would not consent to this proposal. He was too Haughty to submit to a Subject with whom he had entered the Lists, and too Revengeful in his Temper



Temper to forgive a Man who had been his Favourite, and yet had dared to offend him. Therefore after a great deal of bouncing about it, He said that He would be present Himself in the House when the Bill should pass; imagining no doubt, that the Parliament stood so much in awe of him, as that the Lords would not dare then to reject it. The Committee of Council however were not of his Opinion: They were afraid, or pretended to be afraid, of the Parts and Eloquence of Sir THOMAS MORE, which were Superior and Commanding: Nor did they think it was prudent to hazard his appearing to plead in his own Defence, whose many Virtues and amiable Conduct had prejudiced every body in his Favour before they heard him. But the more they pressed the King to give way, the more stiff and haughty he grew in insisting upon it. Whether they really apprehended a Defeat in the House of Lords if the King pursued his measures, or whether they were moved to contend in this Matter with him from the personal Friendship they had for Sir THOMAS MORE, it is hard to say. Considering the arbitrary tyrannical way in



which HENRY treated his Parliaments, I think they could not be sincere in their Arguments with him; and therefore that we must resolve all this Combat with the King's fierce and fiery Disposition, into the Regard which they had for their Friend, and to the Clamour of the People which would be let loose, if He was attainted as an Accomplice with that weak Impostor. Finding however that nothing else would moderate the Obstinacy and Vehemence with which the King pursued this Point, they fell on their Knees, and besought him to forbear by this consideration; "that if it should be carried against  
" him in his own Presence—as they believed  
" it would be—it would encourage his Subjects to despise him, and be a Dishonour  
" to him also all over Europe. They did  
" not doubt but they should be able to find  
" out something else against him, wherein  
" they might serve his Majesty with some  
" Success; but in this Affair of the Nun, He  
" was universally accounted so Innocent, that  
" the World thought him worthier of Praise  
" than of Reproof." With these Suggestions, especially that of finding something else  
against



against him, they at last overcame his Majesty's Obstinacy; and the Name of Sir THOMAS MORE was struck out of the Bill. But however this was to Him only the Beginning of Sorrows.

AFTER HENRY's Divorce from Queen CATHARINE was every where proclaimed, a Book was published by the Authority of the King and Council, representing the Reasons of this Divorce; and it was soon after reported, that Sir THOMAS MORE had answered it. Of this Calumny He cleared himself in a Letter to Secretary CROMWELL; shewing by several Arguments that He could not, nor would attempt to confute that Book; and this Letter is printed at the latter end of his Works. But however, as it was publickly known that He was now as much out of Favour with the King as he had been in it before, Accusations came thick against him from every Quarter: And then it was, that he found the peculiar Advantage of his Innocence and Integrity. For if He had not always acted with the highest Probity, so that in all the Offices which he went through he kept him-  
self



self clear of every sort of Corruption, the lightest Matter would have been laid to his Charge in order to crush him ; and for that purpose would have been accepted favourably by the King.

THIS was evident enough from the Case of one PARNELL ; who complained that He had made a Decree against him in the Court of Chancey at the Suit of VAUGHN his Adversary, for which He had received—VAUGHN being confined at home with the Gout—from the hands of his Wife a great gilt Cup as a Bribe. Upon this Accusation, He was brought before the Council by the King's Direction : And being charged by the Witnesses with the Fact, He readily owned, that as that Cup was brought him for a New-Years Gift long after the Decree was made, He had not refused to take it. The Lord WILTSHIRE, Father to Queen ANN, who prosecuted the Suit against him, and who hated him for not consenting to the King's Marriage with her, was transported with Joy to hear him own it ; and cried hastily out, “ Lo, my Lords, did I not tell you, that you  
“ should



“ should find the Matter true?” Sir THOMAS  
 then desired, that as they had courteously  
 heard him tell one part of the Tale, so they  
 would impartially hear the other : And this  
 being granted, He declared, “ that though  
 “ after much Sollicitation he had indeed re-  
 “ ceived the Cup, and it was long after the  
 “ Decree was made, yet He had ordered his  
 “ Butler to fill it immediately with Wine,  
 “ of which he directly drank to Mrs.  
 “ VAUGHN ; and when she had pledged him  
 “ in it, then as freely as her Husband had  
 “ given it to Him, even so freely he gave the  
 “ same to her again, to present unto her  
 “ Husband for his New-Years Gift ; and  
 “ which she received, and carried back again,  
 “ though with some Reluctance.” The  
 Truth of this, the Woman Herself, and  
 Others then present, deposed before the  
 Council ; to the great Confusion of the Lord  
 WILTSHIRE, and to the Disappointment of  
 all his other Enemies. It would be tedious to  
 relate all the Accusations of this Sort, which  
 out of Malice or Envy were in the same man-  
 ner brought against him : because his Integri-  
 ty had been so clear, that after the strictest  
 Exami-



Examination by Spies, Informers, and little dirty Tools of a Court, nothing could be found to blemish his Reputation.

BUT however the Occasion was not far off, which the Lords of the Cabinet had predicted, of finding something against him, by which his Majesty might be enabled to gratify his Resentment of so much Uprightness and Intrepidity, as He had shewed. In order to open this Matter fully, and to make this History as useful and extensive as it ought to be, it is necessary that I should give the Reader a general View of this great Event in the Reign of HENRY VIII, which brought Sir THOMAS MORE to the Scaffold.

WHETHER HENRY was convinced that his Marriage with the Widow of his Brother ARTHUR was contrary to the Law of God ; or whether he was even in doubt, and really troubled in Conscience upon that account, when he first set in Motion the Business of the Divorce, it is impossible for us absolutely to determine. Indeed, if we believe what he said himself, it must be affirmed without Hesitation,



sitation, that it was a Case of Conscience entirely; and that he suffered great and frequent Conflicts in his Mind, because of his incestuous Commerce with the Queen. But I am sorry to say, that his Majesty's Word in his own Cause was not always to be relied upon. There are too many Instances of his Insincerity and Deceit: And if we should allow in his Favour, that there are Difficulties enough in the Case of such a Marriage to occasion Scruples in the Breast of any one, yet is it possible that he should never have heard of these Difficulties in almost twenty Years, and consequently have been till that Time without his Scruples? The Objections were not new, as it is very plain from the History; and if it was solely a Matter of Conscience, how came it to pass that they did not operate upon his Conscience in Eighteen Years? Shall we then rely upon his Majesty's Testimony contrary to the strongest Probability, and a Testimony which we know was not always true? Or shall we suppose, that He was out of hopes of any more Issue by the Queen, that he had discovered some Infirmities owing to her frequent Miscarriages, which  
made



made her Person disagreeable to him, and that this Dislike, and not his Conscience, suggested these Scruples about his Marriage, and inclined him to a Divorce. The Reader may take which Side he pleases. But if his Majesty was convinced that his Marriage was contrary to the Law of God, He must likewise be convinced, that the Pope had not a Power to grant a Dispensation for it: And yet at the same Time that he appeared under the Power of that Conviction, he solicited another Pope for a Bull to declare his Marriage void. If the Dispensation was null by the Law of God, it was unnecessary to revoke it; and his Conscience might have been easy, had that been the only point in Question by separating from his Wife: But if it was necessary that the Pope should revoke the Dispensation, then the Dispensation was good and the Marriage valid. Under this Dilemma stood HENRY: His Pleasure and his Cause required that a Limit should be set to the Papal Power; but his Application to the Pope as Judge, acknowledged that Power to be without Restraint, and his Principles did not disown it. Perceiving



ceiving however at last after many Struggles, that he could not carry his Point and preserve his Principles, He was determined that his Passions should not give place: And what he attempted at first out of Resentment, in forsaking the Holy See, he might afterwards perhaps work himself up to believe, and probably too did believe, to be the Cause of God and Religion. But be this as it might. \*

THE King having carried his Point at Home against the Pope, the Sentence of his Divorce having been pronounced by the Archbishop, and having married the Lady ANN BOLEYN as he had desired, He was determined to carry his Resentment against the See of Rome to the utmost Length. He had caused several Acts of Parliament to pass, in the Four Years that this Affair was depending, by way of Terror to the Pope, in order to abridge the Papal Power; and He was now determined to tear it up by the Roots. With this Resolution he called a Parliament in

\* The Reader may see this affair discussed at large in the tenth Book of my Ecclesiastical History of England.



in 1534: And amongst many other Acts, which tended to abrogate the Papal Power, there was one to declare the King's Marriage with CATHARINE against the Law of God, confirming the Archbishop's Sentence against it notwithstanding any Dispensation to the contrary, and establishing the Succession to the Crown of England in the Issue of his Majesty's present Marriage with Queen ANN. There was a Clause in this Act, that if any person should divulge any thing to the Slander of this Marriage, or of the Issue begotten in it, or being required to swear to maintain the Contents of this Act, and refused it, that they should be adjudged for Misprision of Treason, and suffer accordingly. Before the two Houses broke up, that they might set a good Example to the King's other Subjects, all the Members took the Oath relating to the Succession; and Commissioners were sent all over the Kingdom to administer it to the People of every Rank and Denomination. The Oath which was taken by several Abbots and Friars of every Order, as it is given in the Collection of Public Acts, was to this Effect; " that they would bear Faith  
" and



“ and true Obedience to the King, and  
 “ to the Issue of his present Marriage with  
 “ Queen ANN; that they would always  
 “ acknowledge him the Head of the  
 “ Church of England; that the Bishop  
 “ of Rome has no more Power than  
 “ any other Bishop; that they renounced  
 “ Obedience to him, and would preach no  
 “ other Doctrine than what was sincerely  
 “ agreeable to the Scriptures and catholic  
 “ Tradition.”

IN a short time after the Breaking up of  
 the Parliament, there was a Committee of  
 the Cabinet Council at Lambeth, consisting  
 of the Archbishop, the Lord Chancellor  
 AUDLEY, and Secretary CROMWELL; where  
 several Ecclesiastics, but no other Lay-man  
 than Sir THOMAS MORE, were cited to ap-  
 pear and take the Oath. Sir THOMAS being  
 first called, and the Oath being tendered to  
 him under the great Seal, He desired to see  
 the Act of Succession which had enjoined it:  
 And this being also shewed him, he said  
 “ that he would blame neither those who  
 “ had made the Act, nor those who had  
 H “ taken



“ taken the Oath ; but for his own part,  
“ though he was willing to swear to the Suc-  
“ cession in a Form of his own drawing, yet  
“ the Oath which was offered was so word-  
“ ed, that his Conscience revolted against it,  
“ and he could not take it with Safety to his  
“ Soul.” And to convince them that he did  
not make any Objection, through Perverse-  
ness, Difaffection, or Singularity, He was  
then ready to swear that the chief Cause of  
his Refusal was what he had given them ;  
and if they doubted of that Oath, how could  
they trust him in the other ? He was then  
ordered to withdraw into the Garden, that  
others who attended might be dispatched.  
Every one else that had been summoned took  
the Oath without any Scruple ; except FISH-  
ER bishop of Rochester, who gave nearly the  
same Answer which Sir THOMAS MORE had  
given. Upon this He was called in again :  
And the Lord Chancellor observing, what a  
great Number had taken the Oath among  
the Nobility, the Bishops, the Lower House  
of Parliament, and the Clergy, and how  
much the King would be offended with him  
for being the first and almost the only man  
who



who had refused it, He made Answer as before, “ that he judged no Man for having  
 “ done it, but that He could not take it him-  
 “ self for Reasons which might give more  
 “ Offence perhaps than the Refusal, and  
 “ which might be called a Disputing against  
 “ Law; nevertheless if the King command-  
 “ ed it He would put his Reasons into Writ-  
 “ ing, which if any man could answer to his  
 “ Satisfaction He would most willingly take  
 “ the Oath.” The Archbishop being very  
 desirous, because of his great Character and  
 Popularity, that He should not go away  
 without taking it, pressed him with an Ar-  
 gument which I must own, though our  
 Learned Church Historian relates it with a  
 seeming Approbation, I am much surprized  
 at. “ Since you blame no other Person,”  
 says CRANMER to him, “ for taking this  
 “ Oath, it appears that you are not persuaded  
 “ it is a Sin, and are only doubtful in the  
 “ Matter: You are certain however of this,  
 “ that you ought to obey the King and the  
 “ Law; and there being a Certainty on the  
 “ one hand, and a Doubt only on the other,  
 “ you are obliged therefore to do that about



“ which you are certain, notwithstanding the  
“ Doubts you may be under”.

It is really difficult to say, whether I am more surprized that this Argument should come out of the Mouth of so good and so wise a Man as CRANMER, in a Case of such Importance; or that it should at all shake the Resolution of so able a Man as MORE, as He writes himself it did, at first; or that it should escape the Observation of so expert a Casuist as Bishop BURNET. To say that this Argument has more Sound than Sense in it, and more Artifice than Truth, is not saying enough in its Condemnation. It teaches a Doctrine opposite to what St. PAUL hath taught us; who hath not only said, “ that  
“ every Man should be fully persuaded in  
“ his own Mind”, but also, “ that tho’ No-  
“ thing is unclean of itself, yet that to Him  
“ who esteemeth any thing to be un-  
“ clean, to him it is Unclean; and he that  
“ doubteth, is damned if he eat”. Thus, tho’ Obedience to the King and the Laws of the Land, was a Thing right in itself and the Duty of every Subject, yet if it appeared to  
Sir



Sir THOMAS MORE, that the Oath now required was contrary to the Laws of God—to which Another Law had restrained the Power of the Legislature—He was so far from being obliged in Conscience to take this Oath, as the Archbishop suggested, that He would have violated his Conscience and been Self-condemned in doing it. The rest of the People, who saw nothing in it which they thought contrary to the Laws of God, were not blamed by him, it is true, for they had done only their Duty: But it does not thence follow, what CRANMER wrongfully concluded, that Sir THOMAS was only Doubtful in this matter, and that He was not persuaded, that in Him who thought the Oath was contrary to the Law of God, it would be a Sin to take it: And even He that Doubteth, St. PAUL says, is Self-condemned if he complies. Sir THOMAS MORE however was not in Doubt: His Conscience positively leaned to the Other Side; and he offered to purge himself upon Oath, as I have said, that it was out of a Principle of Conscience that He refused to swear in the Words prescribed. The Reader I hope will



pardon this Digression; to which I had no other Motive than my Love of Impartiality, and a Sense of my Duty, as an Ecclesiastick, in a Case of this solemn nature. I shall now go on with the Conference.

WHEN the Archbishop was silenced with the Plea of Conscience which Sir THOMAS urged, and urged with the utmost Propriety, the Abbot of WESTMINSTER went a shorter and a plainer way to work with him; telling Him who was a much wiser and a much better Man than himself, “that howsoever the  
“Matter might appear to him, he might see  
“his Conscience was erroneous, since the  
“great Council of the Realm was of another  
“mind; and therefore he ought to change  
“his Conscience.” There needs no other Reflexion on this Reasoning than what Bishop BURNET has made upon it; that it was very fit for so rich an Abbot, and discovered of what Temper his own Conscience was. The Knight replied however with great Modesty, “that if He stood single in his Opinion against the Parliament, he should have  
“reason to suspect his own Understanding;  
“but



“ but he thought He had the whole Council  
 “ of Christendom on his side, to oppose to the  
 “ great Council of England.” He offered  
 however to swear to the Succession of the  
 Crown in the Issue of the King’s present  
 Marriage ; because He thought the Parlia-  
 ment had a Right to determine that Matter.  
 Mr. Secretary CROMWELL, who tenderly  
 favoured him—to use his own Expression—  
 and who knew the Consequence of this De-  
 bate, when he saw Sir THOMAS could not be  
 moved to take the Oath as it was tendered,  
 saw that his Ruin would become inevitable ;  
 and in his great Anxiety protested with an  
 Oath, “ that He had rather his only Son  
 “ should have lost his Head, than that Sir  
 “ THOMAS MORE should have refused to  
 “ swear to the Succession.”

THE Conference ending in this manner,  
 He was committed to the Custody of the Ab-  
 bot of WESTMINSTER for four days ; dur-  
 ing which, it was debated by the King and  
 Council what course it was best to take with  
 him. The Archbishop, who wanted nei-  
 ther Sense nor Candour, and who saw the ill



Effects of contending with a Man whose Popularity was so well established, and with whom he knew Severity would do nothing, pressed extremely to accept the Oath on the Terms he offered it. "For it would not only give a fair Occasion to satisfy Queen CATHARINE and her Daughter, that they were not bound to insist upon their Pretensions; but his great Character," he said, "would also go far in silencing the Emperor and other foreign Princes, as well as in quieting the scrupulous Consciences of many dissatisfied People at Home." Others added to this Expedient, that He should be sworn not to reveal whether He had taken the Oath or not, or what his Sentiments were of it: But in what way soever these able Ministers of the King might be willing to compromise this Dispute, HENRY himself was much irritated, and would not be governed by their Advice. I do not think there is any Occasion to have Recourse to any Clamour or Importunity of Queen ANN to exasperate the King against him; as some of the Writers of his Life have done. At the same time I will not take upon me to say, that



that she might not be so far offended with him for not assenting to her Marriage, and for his opposition to Heresy, as to take Advantage of the King's Displeasure, and to throw her weight into the Scale. But it was no part of HENRY's Character to yield a point he had once insisted on, if he could avoid it: And so, whether the Queen blew the Coals of his Anger against him, or not, the Oath was ordered to be administered to Sir THOMAS MORE, and on his Refusal He was committed Prisoner to the Tower, and indicted on the Statute.

CONSCIOUS of his own Loyalty and Submission to the Government, the Lieutenant of the Tower had no sooner conveyed him to his Apartment, than he called the Servant appointed to attend him in his Imprisonment, and swore him before the Lieutenant, "that  
 " if he should hear or see him speak or write  
 " any thing, against the King, the Council,  
 " or the State of the Realm, he should in-  
 " form the Lieutenant, that it might be dis-  
 " covered." Though the Separation from Rome was made in the last Session of Parliament,



ment, as it has been said, yet the King's Supremacy not being thorowly settled to his Satisfaction, he called another Parliament in November following, in which an Act was passed to confirm the Title which the Clergy had already given him of " Supreme Head " of the Church ;" and to annex to it a Power of visiting and amending all Errors and Heresies, which in the Spiritual Jurisdiction should be reformed. By another Act, the Form of the Oath about the Succession was prescribed, and all the People were obliged to take it, under the Penalty contained in the former Act. This Oath in the new Form was sent to Sir THOMAS MORE, to be taken when He was in the Tower : Upon which he told his Daughter ROPER who had leave to visit him, " that they who had committed " him thither for refusing this Oath not agree- " able to the Statute, were not able by their " own Law to justify his Imprisonment : And " surely, he said, it was a great pity, that any " Christian Prince should be so shamefully " abused with Flattery by a flexible Council " ready to follow his inclinations."



AT the close of this Session, the King sent a general Pardon to be passed in Parliament, with the Exceptions ordinary in such Cases. But it did not content him that Sir THOMAS MORE should be excluded by a general Clause from this Act of Grace : There was a particular Act to attain him of Misprision of Treason ; the King's Grants, not worth the naming, were set aside in it, and he was invidiously charged with Ingratitude towards the King. Severe and revengeful as this treatment was, there were those it seems who thought it necessary in such an important Crisis ; lest an Indulgence to Him who had so great an Authority among the People, might encourage others to revolt by his Example, and to be corrupted in their Affections towards his Majesty. Indeed, if we suppose him to have been disaffected Himself, and to have used every Opportunity of sowing Sedition among others, this Treatment of him would have been just. But He was not wanting in Zeal and Loyalty for the King ; He was even willing to take the Oath to the Succession, how much soever he disapproved the second Marriage ;



Marriage; and his Treason consisted only in a point of Conscience. Allowing however that the Severity which was shewn him was not unjust, it will be a very difficult thing to prove it was not impolitick. If his Reputation was high, and his Credit remarkably great among the People before, the prosecuting him thus to Death for a mere Opinion,—and an Opinion which the King himself and all the Subjects of England had till now embraced—was the ready way to raise them higher. The English are naturally an humane benevolent People: And they are therefore not only inclined to pity those who suffer, even where the Cause of Suffering may be just, but also to think well of their Consciences, if not of their Opinions, when they see men determined to endure all Extremities for them.

I SHALL not enter into a particular Detail of all the little Circumstances whilst He remained a Prisoner in the Tower, which shew the Patience and Greatness of Mind of this Extraordinary Man. They are many and various: Let one Conversation therefore with his  
Lady,



Lady, who had Leave to visit him after he  
 had been some Months imprisoned, serve in-  
 stead of all the rest. As she had none of his  
 Greatness of Mind, and probably not so much  
 Goodness of Heart, she remonstrated with  
 much petulance, “ that He who had been  
 “ always reputed so wise a Man, should now  
 “ so play the Fool as to be content to be  
 “ shut up in a close filthy Prison with Rats  
 “ and Mice; when He might enjoy his Li-  
 “ berty and the King’s Favour, if He would  
 “ but do as all the Bishops and other learned  
 “ Men had done : And as He had a good  
 “ House to live in, his Library, his Gallery,  
 “ his Garden, his Orchard, and all other  
 “ Necessaries handsome about him, where  
 “ he might enjoy himself with his Wife and  
 “ Children, she could not conceive what he  
 “ meant by tarrying so quietly in this Impri-  
 “ sonment.” This was the Language of the  
 Lady MORE to her Husband, while he was  
 smarting under a Bill of Attainder in the  
 Tower; and it is the Language of a Mind  
 devoted to the World, without any Regard  
 to Conscience, and Immortality. But His  
 Mind was made in a different Mold. He  
 had



had added the Christian so much to the Philosopher, that at the same Time he looked on all the Things of Sense with a supreme Contempt, he had set his Affection on the Things Above, and seemed fervently to desire a Translation to them. He heard her therefore very patiently; and having asked her in his facetious manner, “Whether  
“that House was not as nigh to Heaven as  
“his own,” which she resented, He then assured her very seriously “that he saw no  
“great Cause for so much Joy in his House  
“and the Things about it; which would so  
“soon forget its Master, that if He were under  
“Ground but Seven Years and came to  
“it again, he should find those in it who  
“would bid him be gone, and tell him it  
“was none of His. Besides, his Stay in it  
“was so uncertain, that as He would be but  
“a bad Merchant who would put himself in  
“danger to lose Eternity for a Thousand  
“Years, so how much more if he was not  
“sure to enjoy it one day to an End.” These are the Sentiments of a Mind sublimed above the Feelings of Sense; and which was no otherwise attached to this World, than as to  
a State



a State of Pilgrimage in order to a better. We are not therefore to wonder, that such a Mind could withstand the Temptations of Liberty, of Riches, and even of Life ; when they were to be purchased at the Loss of his Peace of Conscience here, and of the Favour of God hereafter.

ABOUT the same time that his Lady made this fruitless Attempt, in order to persuade him to comply with the late Statute, his Majesty sent a Committee of the Privy Council, to engage him to acknowledge the King's Supremacy, or else openly to deny it. But they could not bring him to do either. He was not willing to aggravate his Majesty's Displeasure by the Arguments he should produce against this new Doctrine ; and he could not bring himself to own what in his Conscience he disbelieved. He contented himself therefore with this Answer, " that the Statute was like a two Edged Sword ; if he spoke against it he should procure the Death of his Body, and if he consented to it he should purchase the Death of his Soul". In some short time after,



after, the same Committee of Lords were sent again by the King to try if they could prevail upon him to change his Mind : But he adhered steadily to the Answer which he had made before ; from which he would not deviate in any respect. The King finding by these Attempts that nothing could move him to conform himself to his Majesty's Measures, sent RICH whom he had just made his Solicitor General, Sir R. SOUTHWELL, and PALMER an Under-Secretary, to take away all his Books, and his Pen, Ink, and Paper ; that He might not write any thing against the Supremacy or second Marriage.

WHILST the two last were employed in executing their Commission, the Solicitor, pretending a great Friendship for him, began a Conversation on the Subject of his Imprisonment : And as he knew that Sir THOMAS was a wise and learned Man, and well skilled in the Law, he desired to put the Case to him, Whether if an Act of Parliament was passed to make RICH the King, He would not own him to be so ? To this Sir THOMAS applying in the Affirmative, the Solicitor then



then asked him further, Whether if an Act of Parliament should create Him Pope, Sir THOMAS would not acknowledge him to be the Pope? As an Answer to his first Case Sir THOMAS told him, “that the Parliament might intermeddle without any Impropriety in the State of Temporal Princes: but to his second he would put another Case himself; Whether if an Act of Parliament should pass, ordaining that God should not be God, Mr. RICH would own that He should not”? The Solicitor replied that he should not, as no Parliament could make such a Law; and nothing further was said upon that Subject.

WHETHER RICH, who had been but just promoted to his Office, was sent on purpose by the King to entangle Sir THOMAS MORE in a Dispute upon this Topick, and if nothing could be drawn from it fairly to his Prejudice, to take occasion from thence to accuse him wrongfully, we are not told by any Historian: Neither does a Design of that Sort appear capable of any Proof. It is certain however, that both the King and his Solicitor may be suspected of it without any Unchari-



charitableness, or without refining too much upon a plain matter of Fact: We shall be acquitted of the One by their Characters, and the Sequel will contribute to justify the Other. Sir THOMAS MORE had been now a Prisoner in the Tower above a Year. The King had tried every Way that he could think of, to procure his Approbation of his Majesty's Divorce and second Marriage; that he might avail himself of the Example of a Man so famous for his Wisdom, Learning, and Religion: but he had tried every Way in vain. Sir THOMAS had taken the Side of the Queen in the Business of the Divorce upon a Principle of Conscience, and therefore He had always withstood the King, with a Firmness upon that Point becoming his Character. The Business of the Supremacy was no less a Matter of Conscience to him than the other; but as the Statute which enacted it had made it Treason to write or speak against it, he observed a Silence in this Respect conformable to the Law, which was what he could do; but he refused to acknowledge it with an Oath in obedience to the Statute, which was what he could not do with a quiet Conscience.

WHERE-



WHEREFORE the King being now determined to get rid of a Man who had given him so much Trouble, and of whose Virtues and Popularity he stood in Awe, he gave Orders that Sir THOMAS MORE should be brought to his Trial. So long an Imprisonment having much impaired his Strength, when He was carried from the Tower to Westminster Hall, he went leaning on his Staff from the Water Side with great Debility: And though his Countenance had the Marks of Weakness and Infirmary of Body impressed upon it, yet it had the same Air of Chearfulness which always sat upon it in his better Days. He was tried by the Lord Chancellor, and a Committee of the Lords, with some of the Judges, at the Bar of the King's Bench: And being arraigned He told his Judges, " that he would have abidden in  
 " Law and demurred upon the Indictment,  
 " but that he should thereby have been driven to confess of himself, that He had denied the King's Supremacy; which he  
 " protested He never did: Wherefore reserving to Himself to take Advantage of the



“ Body of the Matter after Verdict to avoid  
“ that Indictment, He pleaded Not Guilty ;”  
“ adding that if those odious Terms, “ Ma-  
“ liciously, Traiterously, and Diabolically,”  
were taken out of it, he saw nothing in the  
Indictment that should justly charge him  
with any Treason.

WHEN the Attorney General had gone  
through the Charge against him in the In-  
dictment, in a tedious invidious Manner, the  
Lord Chancellor said to him,—in which he  
was seconded by the Duke of NORFOLK—  
“ You see now how grievously you have of-  
“ fended His Majesty : Nevertheless he is so  
“ Merciful, that if you will but leave your  
“ Obstinacy and change your Opinion, we  
“ hope you may yet obtain Pardon of his  
“ Highness for what is past.” To this He  
replied with great Resolution, “ that he had  
“ much Cause to thank these Noble Lords  
“ for this Curtesy, but He besought Almighty  
“ God that through his Grace He might  
“ continue in the Mind he was then in unto  
“ Death.” After this He was permitted to  
say what he could for Himself in Answer to  
the



the Inditement, and the flourish made upon it by the Attorney General : And He began as follows.

“ WHEN I think how long my Accusation is, and what heinous Crimes are laid to my Charge, I am struck with Fear lest my Wit and Memory, (both which are decayed, together with the Health of my Body, through a long Impediment contracted by my Imprisonment) be not now able to answer these things on the sudden, as I ought, and otherwise could.”—A Chair was then brought for him into Court to sit down upon, in consideration of his Weakness and the great Rank He had held; and having accepted of this Favour He proceeded thus.—“ There are four principal Heads, if I am not deceived, of this my Indictment, every one of which, God willing, I propose to answer in Order. To the First that is objected against me, That I have been an Enemy out of Stubbornness of Mind to the King’s Second Marriage, I confess that I always told his Majesty my Opinion in it as my Conscience



“ dictated to me; which I neither ever  
 “ would, or ought to have concealed. But  
 “ I am so far from thinking myself guilty of  
 “ High Treason upon this account, that on  
 “ the contrary, I being demanded my Opi-  
 “ nion by so great a Prince in a matter of  
 “ such Importance, whereupon the Quietness  
 “ of a Kingdom dependeth, if I should have  
 “ basely flattered him against my own Con-  
 “ science, and not uttered the Truth as I  
 “ thought, then I should worthily have been  
 “ accounted a wicked Subject, and a perfidi-  
 “ ous Traitor to God. Herein however if  
 “ I had offended the King—if it can be an  
 “ Offence to tell ones Mind plainly when our  
 “ Prince asketh us—I suppose I have been  
 “ already punished enough for this Fault  
 “ with most grievous Afflictions, with the  
 “ Loss of all my Goods, and with perpetual  
 “ Imprisonment; having been shut up al-  
 “ ready almost these fifteen Months.

“ My Second Accusation is, that I have  
 “ transgressed the Statute in the last Parlia-  
 “ ment; that is to say, being a Prisoner and  
 “ twice examined by the Lords of the Coun-  
 “ cil,



“ cil, I would not disclose unto them my  
 “ Opinion,—out of a malignant, perfidious,  
 “ obstinate, and traiterous Mind—whether  
 “ the King was Supreme Head of the  
 “ Church, or no; but answered them that  
 “ this Law belonged not unto Me, whether  
 “ it were just or unjust, because I did not en-  
 “ joy any Benefit from the Church: Yet I  
 “ then protested that I had never said or done  
 “ any thing against it, neither can any one  
 “ Word or Action of mine be produced to  
 “ make me culpable: Yea this I confess was  
 “ then my Speech unto their Honours, that  
 “ hereafter I would think of nothing else  
 “ but of the bitter Passion of our blessed Savi-  
 “ our, and of my Passage out of this misera-  
 “ ble World. I wish no Harm to any, and  
 “ if this will not keep me alive, I desire not  
 “ to live. By all which I know that I could  
 “ not transgress any Law, or incur any Crime  
 “ of Treason: For neither this Statute, nor  
 “ any Law in the World, can punish a man  
 “ for holding his peace; they only can pu-  
 “ nish either Words or Deeds, God alone  
 “ being Judge of our secret Thoughts.”—  
 He was here interrupted by the Attorney



General, who said, “ that though they had  
“ not any Word or Deed of His to object  
“ against him, yet they had his Silence, which  
“ is an evident Sign of a Malicious Mind ;  
“ because no dutiful Subject, being asked  
“ this Question lawfully, will refuse to an-  
“ swer.”—To this Sir THOMAS replied ;  
“ My Silence is no Sign of any Malicious  
“ Mind, which the King himself may know  
“ by many of my Dealings ; neither doth it  
“ convict any man of Breach of your Law.  
“ For it is a Maxim among Civilians and  
“ Canonists, HE THAT KEEPETH SILENCE,  
“ SEEMETH TO CONSENT. As for what you  
“ say, that no good Subject will refuse to  
“ answer directly, I think it verily the Duty  
“ of a good Subject, except he be such a  
“ Subject as will be an evil Christian, rather  
“ to obey God than Man, and to have more  
“ Care of offending his Conscience than of  
“ any other matter in the World ; especially  
“ if his Conscience procure neither heavy  
“ Scandal, nor Sedition to his Prince or  
“ Country, as Mine hath not done : For I  
“ here protest unfeignedly that I never re-  
“ vealed it to any Man living.

I COME



“ I COME now to the Third Capital Mat-  
 “ ter of my Indictment, whereby I am ac-  
 “ cused, that I maliciously attempted, traiter-  
 “ ously endeavoured, and perfidiously practif-  
 “ ed against this Statute, as the Words there-  
 “ of affirm ; because I wrote eight fundry  
 “ Packets of Letters whilst I was in the  
 “ Tower to Bishop FISHER, by which I ex-  
 “ hortated him to break the same Law, and  
 “ induced him to the like Obstinacy. I  
 “ would have these Letters produced and  
 “ read against me, which may either free me,  
 “ or convict me of a Lie. But because you  
 “ say the Bishop burnt them all, I will here  
 “ tell the Truth of the whole Matter : Some  
 “ of them were only about our private Af-  
 “ fairs, as being old Friends and Acquaint-  
 “ ance : One of them was in Answer to His,  
 “ whereby He desired to know how I had  
 “ answered in my Examinations to this Oath  
 “ of Supremacy ; touching which, this only  
 “ I wrote unto him again, That I had already  
 “ settled my Conscience, let Him settle His  
 “ to his own good liking ; and no other An-  
 “ swer I gave him, GOD is my Witness, as  
 “ GOD



“ God I hope shall save my Soul :—And this  
“ I trust is no Breach of your Laws.

“ THE Last objected Crime is, that being  
“ examined in the Tower I did say that this  
“ Law was like a two edged Sword ; for in  
“ consenting thereto I should endanger my  
“ Soul, and in refusing it I should lose my  
“ Life. Which Answer, because Bishop  
“ FISHER made the like, it is evidently ga-  
“ thered, as you say, that We both conspired  
“ together. To this I reply, that my An-  
“ swer there was but Conditional ; if there  
“ be Danger in both, either to allow or dis-  
“ allow this Statute, and therefore like a two  
“ edged Sword, it seemeth a hard thing that  
“ it should be offered to me, who have never  
“ hitherto contradicted it either in Word or  
“ Deed. These were My Words : What the  
“ Bishop answered I know not. But if His  
“ Answer were like Mine, it proceeded not  
“ from any Conspiracy of ours, but from the  
“ Likeness of our Wits and Learning. To  
“ conclude, I unfeignedly avouch that I never  
“ spoke a Word against this Law to any liv-  
“ ing



“ing man ; although perhaps his Majesty  
 “hath been told the contrary”

To a Justification so full, so clear, and irrefragable as this, the Attorney General had no Reply to make. But the Word MALICE being in the Mouth of almost all the Court, they proceeded to examine the Witnesses in order to prove his Treason to the Jury. Mr. RICH the Sollicitor General, being called and sworn, deposed that when He was sent to fetch away the Books of Sir THOMAS MORE from the Tower, at the End of a Conversation with him upon the King's Supremacy,—which has been already related—on Mr. RICH's owning to a Case put by him, that no Parliament could make a Law that God should not be GOD: Sir THOMAS replied, “No more could the Parliament make the  
 “King Supreme Head of the Church.” When the Sollicitor General had given this Evidence to the Court on Oath, the Prisoner, under a great Surprize at the Malice and Falshood of it, said, “If I was a Man, my  
 “Lords, that did not regard an Oath, I need-  
 “ed not at this Time, and in this Place—

“as



“ as it is well known to ye all—Stand as an  
“ accused Person: And if this Oath, MR.  
“ RICH, which You have taken be true,  
“ then I pray that I may never see GOD in  
“ the Face; which I would not say, were  
“ it otherwise, to gain the whole World.

HAVING next related the whole Discourse with him in the Tower, as it truly was, he then proceeded to invalidate the Testimony of the Sollicitor, and to shew the Court and the Jury how improvable it was that it should be true. “ In good Faith,” says he, “ MR. RICH, I am more sorry for Your Perjury  
“ than my own Peril: and know that nei-  
“ ther I, nor any man else to my Knowledge,  
“ ever took You to be a Man of such Cre-  
“ dit, as that I, or any other, would vouch-  
“ safe to communicate with you in any mat-  
“ ter of Importance. You know that I have  
“ been acquainted with your Manner of Life  
“ and Conversation a long Space, even from  
“ your Youth unto this Time: For we  
“ dwelt long together in One Parish, wherein  
“ Your self can well tell—I am sorry you  
“ compell me to speak it—You was always  
“ esteemed



“esteemed very light of your Tongue, a  
“great Dicer and Gamester, and not of any  
“commendable Fame, either there, or at  
“your House at the Temple, where hath  
“been your bringing up. Can it therefore  
“seem likely to Your Honourable Lordships,  
“that in so weighty a Cause I should so un-  
“advisedly overshoot myself, as to trust Mr.  
“RICH, a Man always reputed of me for  
“one of so little Truth and Honesty—So far  
“above my Sovereign Lord the King, to  
“whom I am so deeply indebted for his ma-  
“nifold Favours, or any of his noble and  
“grave Counsellors, that I would declare  
“only to Mr. RICH the Secrets of my Con-  
“science touching the King’s Supremacy—  
“the special Point and only Mark so long  
“sought for at my Hands—which I never  
“did, nor ever would reveal, after the Statute  
“once made, either to the King’s Highness,  
“or to any of his noble Councillors; as it is  
“well known to your Honours, who have  
“been sent for no other purpose at several  
“Times from his Majesty to me in the Tower.  
“I refer it therefore to Your Judgments, my  
“Lords,



“Lords, whether this can seem a thing credible to any of you.”

“BUT if I had done as Mr. RICH hath  
“sworn, seeing it was spoken but in familiar  
“secret Talk, affirming nothing, but only putting of Cases without any unpleasing Circumstances, it cannot justly be taken for maliciously ; and where there is no Malice there can be no Offence. Besides this,  
“My Lords, I cannot think that so many  
“worthy Bishops, so many honourable Personages, and so many worshipful vertuous  
“and well-learned Men, as were in the Parliament assembled at the making of that Law,  
“ever meant to have any man punished by  
“Death in whom there could be found no  
“Malice, taking MALITIA for MALEVOLENTIA : For if MALITIA be taken in a general signification for any Sin, no Man is  
“there that can excuse himself thereof ; because if we say that we have no Sin we deceive Ourselves and the Truth is not in us.  
“Wherefore this Word MALICIOUSLY is  
“only Material in this Statute ; as the Word  
“Forcible is in the Statute of Forcible Entry  
“try :



“ try: For in that Case, if any enter Peace-  
 “ ably and put his Adversary out Forcibly, it  
 “ is no Offence; but if he enter Forcibly he  
 “ shall be punished by that Statute. Besides  
 “ this, the unspeakable Goodness of the  
 “ King’s Highness towards me, who hath  
 “ been so many Ways my singular good Lord  
 “ and gracious Sovereign; He, I say, who  
 “ hath so dearly loved and trusted me, even  
 “ from my first coming into his Royal Ser-  
 “ vice, vouchsafing to grace me with the  
 “ Honour of being one of his Privy Council,  
 “ and hath most liberally advanced me to  
 “ Offices of great Credit and Worship, final-  
 “ ly with the chief Dignity of his Majesty’s  
 “ High Chancellor, the like whereof He ne-  
 “ ver did to any Temporal Man before,  
 “ which next his Royal Person is the highest  
 “ Office of this noble Realm, so far above my  
 “ Merits and Qualities knowing and exalting  
 “ me of his incomparable Benignity by the  
 “ Space of these Twenty Years and more,  
 “ shewing his continual Favour towards me;  
 “ and now at last it hath pleased his High-  
 “ ness at mine own humble Suit, to give me  
 “ licence to bestow the Residue of my Life  
 “ for



“ for the better Provision of my Soul in the  
“ Service of God, to discharge and disburden  
“ me in that weighty Dignity, before which  
“ He had still heaped Honours more and  
“ more upon me: All this his Highness’s  
“ Goodness so liberally extended to me, were  
“ in my Mind Matter sufficient to convict  
“ this slanderous Accusation, so wrongfully  
“ by this Man surmised and urged against  
“ me; which I commit to Your Lordship’s  
“ honourable Consideration whether this  
“ Oath be likely to be true or no.”

THE Solicitor General, seeing himself so  
coursely handled in this Defence, and the  
Credit of his Testimony so much shaken, de-  
sired, as Sir R. SOUTHWELL and Mr. PAL-  
MER were in the Chamber with them when  
this Conversation passed between Him and  
the Prisoner, that they might be called to  
give Evidence of what they heard. Mr.  
PALMER appeared, and being sworn, deposed,  
“ that He was so busy in trussing up the  
“ Books into a Sack, that He took no Notice  
“ of their Discourse.” Sir R. SOUTHWELL  
being likewise called, declared upon his Oath,  
“ that



“ that as He had no other Commission than  
 “ what related to the Books and Writings, he  
 “ gave no Attention to what passed in Con-  
 “ versation between the Prisoner and Mr.  
 “ RICH.” Thus the Evidence not being  
 confirmed by any other Witnesses, and resting  
 entirely upon the Credit to be given to the  
 Solicitor General, Sir THOMAS alledged  
 many other Proofs in his own Defence;  
 which by shewing his Innocence confuted  
 the Testimony of the Solicitor.

THE Reader who has attended to this im-  
 partial Abstract of the Trial, and who con-  
 sideres the Characters of the Prisoner and the  
 Witnesses, I apprehend will acquit Sir THO-  
 MAS MORE of the Indictment, without any  
 Hesitation. But unhappily for Him, He  
 lived in the Days of HENRY VIII. whose  
 Will was a Law to Judges as well as Juries:  
 And notwithstanding his Innocence was so  
 clearly pointed out, and the Evidence against  
 him so ill supported, or rather proved so evi-  
 dently to be false, yet the Jury—must I say  
 it to the Reproach of my Countrymen?—  
 found him GUILTY. They had no sooner

K

brought



brought in their Verdict, than the Lord Chancellor AUDLEY, as the Mouth of the Court, began immediately to pronounce the Sentence. This Man who had succeeded Sir THOMAS MORE in the Great Seal, and had neither his Parts his Learning nor his Virtues, was in such Haste to shew his fervility and blind Obedience to the King, that he did not attend to the Dictates of Friendship, Compassion or Humanity; nay he did not attend to the common Duties of his Office, and seemed to be much fitter for an Executioner than a Judge. The Prisoner however stopped him short with this modest Rebuke: "My Lord, when I was towards the Law, the Manner in such Cases was, to ask the Prisoner before Sentence, whether he could give any Reason why Judgment should not proceed against him." The Chancellor had the Grace to stay his Sentence upon this, and asked Sir THOMAS what He was able to say that it should not pass.

IF a Jury could not be moved by what He had said in defending himself against the Charge in this Indictment, there could be  
little



little Hope that his Judges would be influenced to wave their Sentence on this Verdict, by what He should say against the Matter of the Indictment itself. However, to give his Cause all the Strength it had—and in proportion as it cleared Himself, it threw a Load of Infamy upon those who were concerned in his Prosecution—the Prisoner had this to say in arrest of Judgment. “ Forasmuch my Lords, as this Indictment is grounded upon an Act of Parliament directly repugnant to the Laws of God and his Holy Church—the Supreme Government of which, or of any Part thereof, no Temporal Person may by any Law presume to take upon him, as rightfully belonging to the See of Rome—it is therefore in Law among Catholic Christians insufficient to charge any Christian man to obey. For this Realm alone, being but one Member and a small part of the Church, might not make a particular Law disagreeing with the General Law of the Universal Catholic Church; no more than the City of London, being but one poor Member in respect of the whole Realm, might



“ make a Law against an Act of Parliament  
“ to bind the Kingdom. Besides, This Law  
“ was contrary to the Laws and Statutes of  
“ the Land yet unrepealed, as you may evi-  
“ dently perceive in Magna Charta ; and also  
“ contrary to that sacred Oath, which the  
“ King’s Highness himself and every other  
“ Christian Prince with great Solemnity re-  
“ ceived always at their Coronation.” In  
Conclusion He said, “ that no more might  
“ this Kingdom refuse Obedience to the See  
“ of Rome, than might the Child to his Na-  
“ tural Father.”

THE Lord Chancellor, taking this to be a  
severe Reflexion upon all the Proceedings of  
the Parliament, observed, “ that as All the  
“ Bishops, Universities, and Best-Learned  
“ Men of this Realm had agreed to the King’s  
“ Supremacy, it was much wondered at that  
“ He alone should stick at it so stiffly, and  
“ argue there against it with so much Ve-  
“ hement.” The Prisoner’s Answer was  
this : “ If the Number of Bishops and Uni-  
“ versities are so material, as Your Lordship  
“ seemeth to make it, then do I, my Lord,  
“ see little Cause why that should make any  
“ Change



“ Change in my Conscience: For I do not  
 “ doubt, but of the learned and vertuous  
 “ Men that are yet alive—I speak not only of  
 “ this Realm, but of all Christendom about  
 “ —there are ten to one that are of my Mind  
 “ in this Matter. But if I should speak of  
 “ those learned Doctors and vertuous Fathers  
 “ that are already dead, of whom many are  
 “ now Saints in Heaven, I am sure that there  
 “ are far more, who, all the time they lived,  
 “ thought in this Case as I think now: And  
 “ therefore, my Lord, I esteem myself not  
 “ bound to conform my Conscience to the  
 “ Council of One Realm, against the gene-  
 “ ral Consent of all Christendom.” After  
 this he proceeded to take more Exceptions  
 in Law in order to avoid the Indictment:  
 And whether these were rather too strong to  
 be answered; or whether the Chancellor be-  
 gan now to feel some little Compunction;  
 or whether he was afraid of the popular  
 Clamour if He took the Condemnation of the  
 Prisoner entirely upon Himself; He turned  
 to the Lord Chief Justice, and asked him  
 His Opinion openly before the Court, as to  
 the Validity of the Indictment notwithstanding



the Exceptions of the Prisoner. The Answer of the Chief Justice, whose Name was FITZ-JAMES, is somewhat remarkable: "My  
 " Lords all, by St. GILLIAN, I must needs  
 " confess, that if the Act of Parliament be  
 " not unlawful, then in my Conscience the  
 " Indictment is not insufficient." Upon this equivocal Opinion, the Lord Chancellor said to the rest, "Lo, my Lords, lo, You hear  
 " what my Lord Chief Justice saith;" and without waiting for any Reply, proceeded to pass Sentence on Sir THOMAS MORE in the following Words:

" That He should be carried back to the  
 " Tower of London by the help of the  
 " Sheriff, and from thence drawn on a Hurdle  
 " through the City to Tyburn, there to be  
 " hanged till he be half dead; after that cut  
 " down yet alive, his privy parts cut off, his  
 " Belly ripped, his Bowels burnt, his four  
 " Quarters set up over four Gates of the  
 " City, and his Head upon London Bridge."

THIS shocking Sentence being pronounced, and the Court having told him that if He  
 had



had any thing further to alledge in his Justification they were very willing to hear it, this affecting Scene of Cruelty, which had filled the Eyes of many with Tears and their Hearts with Horror, was closed with an Answer from the Prisoner, which reflects an Honour upon his Memory, that the most celebrated Names of Antiquity can scarcely challenge. “ I have nothing to say, my  
 “ Lords, but that like as the blessed Apostle  
 “ St. PAUL was present and consented to  
 “ the Death of STEPHEN, and kept their  
 “ Clothes who stoned him to Death, and yet  
 “ be they now both twain Holy Saints in  
 “ Heaven, and shall continue there Friends  
 “ for ever ; so I verily trust, and shall there-  
 “ fore right heartily pray, that though Your  
 “ Lordships have now been Judges on Earth  
 “ to my Condemnation, we may yet here-  
 “ after all meet together in Heaven to our  
 “ everlasting Salvation : And so I pray God  
 “ preserve you all, and especially my Sove-  
 “ reign Lord the King, and send him faith-  
 “ ful Councillors.”

HAVING taken his Leave of the Court in



solemn Manner, He was conducted from the Bar to the Tower, with the Ax carried before him in the usual manner after Condemnation: And when he came to the Tower Wharfe, his favourite Daughter Mrs. ROPER, thinking this would be the last Opportunity she should ever have, was waiting there to see him. As soon as he appeared in Sight, she burst through the Throng and Guard which surrounded him; and having received his Blessing upon her Knees, she embraced him eagerly before them all; and amidst a Flood of Tears and a thousand Kisses of Tendernefs and Affection, her Heart being ready to break with Grief, the only Words that she could utter were, "My Father, Oh "My Father!" If any thing could have shaken his Fortitude it must be this. But He only took her up in his Arms, and told her, "that whatsoever he should suffer, "though he was Innocent, yet it was not "without the Will of God, to whose blessed "Pleasure she should conform her own Will; "that she knew well enough all the Secrets "of his Heart, and that she must be patient "for her Loss." Upon this she parted from him;



him; but scarce was she turned aside, before her Passion of Grief and Love became irresistible; and she again suddenly burst through the Croud, ran eagerly upon him a second Time, took him round the Neck, and hung upon him with her Embraces ready to die with Sorrow. This was rather too much for Man to bear: And though he did not speak a Word, yet the Tears flowed down his Cheeks in great Abundance; till she took her last Kiss, and left him. In this tender moment his Heart may be said to fail him; and it was a Scene which did him Honour. Here was a favourite Daughter of very extraordinary Accomplishments, and by Nature and Education modest; who without care of her Person, or any consideration of her Sex, moved by the deepest Sorrow and the most tender Affection for him, surmounted every obstacle of Fear, of Danger, and of Difficulty to see him; who when she had seen him, and taken her leave of him in the most passionate and Heart-distracting situation, shook off all the Regards of Modesty and Peril a second time, and pouring out her Soul into his Bosom could not be separated from



from him without Force. It was impossible for Humanity to be more unmoved at such a Scene than only to shed Silent Tears: The Sensations of his Heart must have been exquisite, how much soever his Fortitude enabled him to suppress them, when he heard himself addressed with that Pathetic Eloquence which described all her Agony at once, "My Father, Oh My Father!" If a few silent Tears in this distressful Scene, owing to the Tendernefs of Nature in a Parent's Breast, were all the Signs of Dejection or Dispiritedness which Sir THOMAS MORE shewed at a Fate which was so deplorable, and yet so unmerited—and it is certain that these were all, from the Time of his Commitment to the last Minute of his Life—then He instructed the World as well by this Circumstance of his leaving it, as by the whole Course of his living in it. This great Example will teach us a Lesson of Fortitude, under Sufferings for Conscience Sake; of Contempt of a Life of Flesh which is in itself short and transitory; and of Resignation to the Will of Heaven under the most trying Afflictions of Mortality.

AFTER



AFTER He had lain a few days under the Sentence of Death, preparing his Mind by Prayer and Meditation for the Stroke which was to follow, One of the Creatures of the King made him a Visit; and we may suppose, I think, with the King's Consent, if not by his Special Order. Be this however as it might; the whole Intent of the Visit being to persuade him, if possible, to comply with his Majesty's Will, and to change his Mind, Sir THOMAS being wearied at last with his Nonsense and Importunity, in order to get rid of him, told him that "He had changed it." No sooner had he said this, than the Courtier left him; and pluming himself upon the Merit he should have with the King, in bringing Sir THOMAS MORE to the Point which his Majesty wished, and which so many Others had tried in vain, he went in great haste and joy to inform the King. The King however was not without apprehensions, that He had made a Mistake in the Meaning of Sir THOMAS; and therefore ordered him to return immediately to the Tower to know in what particulars the Prisoner



soner had changed his Mind. When he came there, he had the Mortification, not only to be rebuked for his impertinent officiousness in telling his Majesty every Word that Sir THOMAS had said even in Jest, but also to learn that He had changed his Mind no otherwise than in this; “that whereas he had  
“intended to be shaved, that he might appear  
“to the People as he was wont to do before  
“his Imprisonment, He was now fully resolved that his Beard should share the same  
“Fate with his Head.” If this was a Matter of Confusion to the undertaking Courtier, who had been weak enough to imagine that He could shake the Resolution of Sir THOMAS MORE, it was not less a Matter of Disappointment and Vexation to the Tyrant, that his Cruelty should be baffled by the Contempt with which the Prisoner treated it. In consideration however that He had borne the highest office in the Kingdom, his Sentence of being drawn hanged and quartered was by the King’s Pardon changed into Beheading: And when He was informed of it, he said with his usual Mirth, “God forbid the King  
“should use any more such to any of my  
“Friends;



“ Friends; and God blefs all my Posterity  
“ from fuch Pardons.”

THE day before his Execution, he wrote a Letter to his Daughter ROPER with a Coal, the ufe of Pen and Ink being ftill denied him, in which He expreffes a great Affection for all his Children, and a grateful fense of her filial Piety and Tendernefs when ſhe took her leave of him in the Street. But He was fo far from ſhewing any Reluctance at leaving the World, that he expreffes a great Defire he might fuffer the next Day: And not caring that the Severity which He exercifed towards himfelf ſhould be publickly known, He ſent his Whip and his Shirt of Hair with this Letter to his Daughter; who was the only one of his own Family who was privy to this Circumftance of his Superftition. If the Reader thinks that fuch Austerity under the Notion of Religion, derogates much from the good Senfe which I have attributed to Sir THOMAS MORE, let him recollect the Times in which he lived, immediately after the Refurrection of Letters, when Ignorance of Scripture, and Bigotry to the Catholick Church



Church, had overspread the World. As a further Argument in his Favour it should be considered, that he did not inflict this Penance upon himself, with the absurd view of commuting by it for wilful Vices: His whole Life was uniform; and as his Intentions in it were justifiable, we must excuse the Simplicity of the Means which he complied with in Conformity to his Religion. He had other Sentiments himself upon this head in his younger days, when he wrote his History of UTOPIA; as the Reader will be convinc'd upon the Perusal of that Work: And upon what Considerations he thought thus superstitiously afterwards, we are nowhere told. But were there to be no Shades at all in his Character, it would not be That of a MAN; and therefore let it pass for as great an Allay as the Reader pleases.

ON the day after he wrote this Letter, the 5th of July, 1535, Sir THOMAS POPE, his intimate Friend, came to him from the King very early in the Morning, to acquaint him that he should be executed that day at nine o'clock, and therefore that he must immediately



mediately prepare himself for Death. If His Majesty intended to shock or affright him by this short Warning, he lost his Aim so entirely, that the Prisoner said to Sir THOMAS POPE, "I most heartily thank you for your  
 "good Tidings: I have been much bound  
 "to the King's Highness, for the benefit of  
 "his Honours that he hath most bountifully  
 "bestowed upon me; yet am I more bound  
 "to His Grace, I do assure you, for putting  
 "me here, where I have had convenient  
 "Time and Space to have Remembrance of  
 "End: And so help me God, most of all  
 "I am bound unto him, that it hath pleased  
 "his Majesty so shortly to rid me out of the  
 "Miseries of this wretched World." His Friend then told him that his Majesty's Pleasure further was, "That he should  
 "not use many Words at his Execution;" and it was not without Reason that this Command accompanied the Message of Death. The King was not ignorant of Sir THOMAS MORE's abilities as a Public Speaker on any subject, and how great his Authority was among the People: He was but too sensible of the Provocation he had given the Prisoner  
 by



by putting him thus to Death, so undeservedly; and his Majesty was therefore afraid, by judging of Sir THOMAS's Temper from his own, that He should be treated with the most vindictive and offensive Freedom. But He had to do now with a Subject, who had always been too good for such a Prince. His Reply to this Order was, "You do well Mr. POPE to give me Warning of the King's Pleasure herein; for otherwise I had purposed at that Time to have spoken somewhat, but no matter wherewith His Grace or any other should have cause to be offended: Howbeit, whatsoever I intended, I am ready to conform myself obediently to his Highness's Command; and I beseech You, good Mr. POPE, to be a Means to his Majesty, that my Daughter MARGARET may be at my Burial." Being told that the King had already consented, that his Wife, and Children, and any of his Friends might have the Liberty to be present at it, He added, "O how much beholden then am I to his Grace, that unto my poor Burial vouchsafeth to have such gracious Consideration!" Sir THOMAS POPE having thus discharged his Com-



mission, bid his Friend Adieu with many Tears and with much Commiseration. The Prisoner desired him to be comforted with the Prospect of Eternal Bliss, in which they should live and love together: And to give him an Impression of the Ease and Quiet of his own Mind, He took his Urinal in his Hand, and casting his Water said with his usual Mirth, “ I see no Danger but that this  
“ Man might live longer, if it had pleased  
“ the King.”

THE Reader will be pleased to consider, if he thinks this a Circumstance too trivial to be mentioned, that a Particular History of One Man admits of such Relations as would be puerile in any other; and that nothing is Little, nothing Despicable here, which serves to give us a truer and more perfect Knowledge of the Character we recite. I believe this is an Observation of a French Historian; and it is a very just one. Though I have therefore omitted many little Particulars, which other Writers of his Life have told—who are all of them mere Relators of Facts—yet I did not think myself justified in with-

L

holding



holding any Circumstance, how inconsiderable soever, by which we might trace the peculiar Features of his Mind; especially in that only Scene, wherein All of us are sure, that we must some time or other act a part Ourselves.

As soon as Sir THOMAS POPE had left him, he drest himself in the best Clothes he had; that his Appearance might express the Ease and Complacency which he felt within. The Lieutenant of the Tower objecting to this generosity to his Executioner, who was to have his Clothes, Sir THOMAS assured him, “if it was Cloth of Gold, he should think it well bestowed on Him who was to do him so singular a Benefit.” But the Lieutenant, who was his Friend, pressing him very much to change his Dress, and Sir THOMAS being very unwilling to deny him so small a Gratification, put on a Gown of Freeze; and of the little Money that he had left sent an Angel in Gold to the Executioner, as a Token of his Good Will. About nine o’Clock, He was brought out of the Tower, and led to the place of Execution: But observing



serving when he came to the Scaffold, that  
 it was so weakly built it is was ready to fall  
 down, he turned about and said with his  
 usual gaiety, "I pray you Mr. Lieutenant see  
 " me safe up, and for my coming down let  
 " me shift for myself." As soon as he had  
 ascended it, He desired all the people to pray  
 for him, and to bear witness with him, "that  
 " he should then suffer Death, in and for the  
 " Faith of the Holy Catholic Church, a  
 " faithful Servant both of God and the  
 " King." Having said this, he kneeled down  
 to his Prayers; and when he had made an  
 End, He addrest himself to the Executioner,  
 with as much Vivacity and Chearfulness in  
 his Countenance as he had ever shewn in his  
 happiest Hours; saying, "Pluck up thy  
 " Spirits Man, and be not afraid to do thine  
 " Office: My Neck is very short; take heed  
 " therefore thou strike not awry for saving  
 " thine Honesty." When the Executioner  
 would have covered his eyes, he told him he  
 would do that himself; which he did imme-  
 diately with a Cloth he had brought with  
 him for that purpose. Then kneeling down  
 and laying his Head upon the Block to re-



ceive the Stroke, He bid the Executioner  
“ stay till he had removed his Beard, for that,”  
he said, “ had never committed any Trea-  
“ son ;” and at one Blow of the Ax, his  
Head was severed from his Body.

IN this manner ended the Life of the  
great Sir THOMAS MORE ; who for his Jus-  
tice, Humility, Devotion, Sweetness of Tem-  
per, Contempt of the World, and true Great-  
ness of Mind, was the Ornament of his own,  
and may be an Example to every Age.  
Many people have censured his Behaviour on  
the Scaffold, as too light and ludicrous for  
the Occasion : But it was so natural to him,  
and the Consciousness of his own Integrity  
gave him such an Inward Pleasure, that what  
was a mournful Solemnity to the Spectators  
was to Him a matter of Joy. Monsieur de  
St. EVEREMONT is very particular in setting  
forth the Courage and Constancy of PET.  
ARBITER during his last moments, and  
thinks he discovers in them a greater Firm-  
ness of Mind and Resolution, than in the  
Death of SENECA, CATO, or even SOCRATES.  
Mr. ADDISON has observed upon this, “ that  
“ if



“ if he was so much pleased with Gaiety of  
 “ Humour in a dying Man, he might have  
 “ found a much nobler Instance of it in Sir  
 “ THOMAS MORE. This great and learned  
 “ man was famous for enlivening his ordi-  
 “ nary Discourses with Wit and Pleasantry;  
 “ and as ERASMUS tells him in an Epistle  
 “ Dedicatory, acted in all parts of Life like a  
 “ second DEMOCRITUS. He died upon a  
 “ Point of Religion, and is respected as a  
 “ Martyr by that side for which he suffered.  
 “ That innocent Mirth, which had been so  
 “ conspicuous in this Life, did not forsake  
 “ him to the last. He maintained the same  
 “ Chearfulness of Heart upon the Scaffold,  
 “ which he used to shew at his Table; and  
 “ upon laying his Head on the Block, gave  
 “ Instances of that good Humour with which  
 “ he had always entertained his Friends in  
 “ the most ordinary Occurrences. His  
 “ Death was of a Piece with his Life. There  
 “ was nothing in it new, forced, or affected.  
 “ He did not look upon the severing his Head  
 “ from his Body, as a Circumstance that  
 “ ought to produce any Change in the Dis-  
 “ position of his Mind; and as he died un-



“ der a fixed and settled Hope of Immorta-  
“ lity, he thought any unusual Degree of  
“ Sorrow and Concern, improper on such  
“ an Occasion as had nothing in it which  
“ could deject or terrify him. There is no  
“ great Danger of Imitation from this Ex-  
“ ample: Men’s natural Fears will be a suffi-  
“ cient Guard against it. I shall only observe,  
“ that what was Philosophy in this Extraor-  
“ dinary Man, would be Frenzy in one who  
“ does not resemble him, as well in the  
“ Chearfulness of his Temper, as in the  
“ Sanctity of his Life and Manners.”—Thus  
far Mr. ADDISON; and I have given the  
Reader this Extract, to add his Testimony  
to the Character of our Author, as well as to  
vindicate this Facetiousness in his expiring  
Moments.

WHEN the News of his Death was brought  
to HENRY, who was at that time playing at  
Tables in company with the Queen, his Ma-  
jesty cast his Eyes upon her, and said, “Thou  
“ art the Cause of this Man’s Death”; and  
rising up immediately from his Play, went  
and shut himself up in his Chamber in great  
Per-



Perturbation of mind. One may conclude from this Circumstance, that if the Ferocity of the King's Temper upon any Opposition from a Subject wanted a Spur upon this Occasion, the Queen had importuned him to put Sir THOMAS MORE to Death; as the Historians of his Life affirm she did. I apprehend that they affirm it however only from this Circumstance; and tho' I am far from thinking the Queen entirely innocent of the Charge, yet I believe her Guilt consisted rather in approving his Execution, than importuning the King to it. Sir THOMAS had not only opposed the Divorce from CATHARINE, and the Marriage with ANN BOLEYN, but he had promoted the persecution of Heresy, of which Queen ANN was become the Patron: and when the Question was under Debate, whether or no they should remove him for opposing the King's Will, there is no Reason to doubt but she gave her Voice for it, as for removing an Enemy to Her, and her Cause; and having given her Opinion for it, if she found the King wavering or shook in his Resolution, that she tried to confirm him in it. This was a sufficient



Ground for HENRY, in the first moment of his uneasiness, to charge her with being the Cause of the Death of this great Man, without supposing her to have procured it by her Importunity: And tho' there is no other Proof of her procuring it than this Accusation, which in my Opinion is to be interpreted with great Latitude, yet on the other hand there are no Appearances of any Endeavours in her to save him; which is no inconsiderable Evidence of her being consenting and instrumental to his Execution. To say the Truth, it is extremely difficult to clear not only the Queen, but even Archbishop CRANMER also, from promoting the Death of Sir THOMAS MORE. It is notorious that they were at this Time the Favourites of his Majesty, that they had the chief Hand in his Councils, and could lead him sometimes from his purposes of highest Moment. Had they interfered therefore upon this Occasion, as I think they were bound to do, and made use of all the Influence which they had over the King, they would in all probability have saved the Life of this great and pious Man; which, if it had



had done no Good to their Cause, would have done Themselves no Harm. But if they had made any such Attempt, at least if the Queen had, it would have been impossible for the King to have told her publicly, that she had been the Cause of his Death: And so this Conclusion at least is to be gathered from it, that she did not do her utmost to prevent an Execution, which was an indelible Blemish upon all the Reformers who consented to it.

As the Reader may have a Curiosity to know something of the Person and Family of Sir THOMAS MORE, it may be proper to gratify it in a History of his Life, as far as I am enabled by the Materials which are handed down. He was of a middle Stature, and well proportioned; of a pale and phlegmatic Complexion; his Hair of a Chesnut Colour; his Eyes grey; his Countenance amiable and chearful; his Voice neither strong nor shrill, and tho' clear and distinct was not very musical; his Constitution which was good in itself was never impaired by his way of Living, any otherwise than by writing



too much in the latter part of his Life, which gave him a Pain in his Breast that was often very troublesome. His Diet was simple and abstemious, never drinking any Wine but when he pledged those who drank to him, and rather mortifying than indulging his Appetite in what he eat. By his first Wife he had a Son and three Daughters; but the Girls being born first, and his Wife expressing a great Desire for a Son, who proved little better than a Fool, he told her, “ that she had prayed so long for a Boy, that she had one now who would be a Boy as long as he lived.” This however did not hinder him from giving his Son all the Advantages of a good Education; which we may be sure did something towards improving his natural Parts, though not so as to make any Figure worthy of such a Father, or as could give his Father any Delight in him. Of his two youngest Daughters we know nothing, but that they were married to Gentlemen; but his eldest Daughter MARGARET, the wife of Mr. ROPER, and the Favourite Child of Sir THOMAS, who has been often mentioned in this History, was a Woman of extraordinary Parts



Parts and Learning. She wrote two Declamations in English, which her Father and she turned so elegantly into Latin, that it was very difficult to determine which was best. She wrote also a Treatise of the "Four last Things" with so much Piety, Judgment, and Strength of Reasoning, that her Father declared it was a better Performance, than a Discourse which He had written himself on the same Subject. ERASMUS wrote an Epistle to her, as to a Woman famous, not only for her Manners and Virtue, but for true and solid Learning: And Cardinal POLE was so charmed with the Elegance of her Latin Style, that it was long before he could be brought to believe, that what he read was penned by a Woman. In short she was a perfect Mistress of the Greek and Latin Tongues, and of all sorts of Music, with a great Skill in Arithmetick and many Sciences; and was complimented by the greatest Men of the Age on that Account. The Second Wife of Sir THOMAS was a Widow when he married her, and brought him no Children; and by what we have seen of her, was a weak and worldly minded Woman, who did no  
great



great Honour to his Choice; and whom it was not his greatest Unhappiness to leave behind him. His Latin Works, which make a Volume in Octavo, were collected and published at Basil and Louvain in 1563-4; and his English Works, which were collected in one Volume in Folio, were published by Serjeant RASTALL his Sister's Son, in two Years after the Author was executed on the Scaffold.



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
UTOPIA:

Describing the most perfect State of a Common-Wealth,  
In the MANNERS, RELIGION, and POLITY, of that ISLAND:

Written in LATIN

By Sir THOMAS MORE,

With NOTES Historical and Explanatory.

*Rei-publicæ corruptela non alia magis ex re nascitur quam  
deliciis.*

ERASMUS.



Y M O T 2 1 H

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РЛОС



## ADVERTISEMENT.

**T**HE Reader ought to be told, that as Bishop BURNET had published a Translation of the UTOPIA of Sir THOMAS MORE, I apprehended it would be deemed Presumption and Arrogance in Me, if I should attempt to give it the World in better Language, or more agreeable to the Original. Besides, the first Thoughts of republishing this Work, were suggested to me by his Son, the late learned Judge; who was desirous that I should do justice to the Bishop's Performance, because he thought it had not been done in any former Edition.

As That Translation however was published above seventy Years ago, I have presumed to make a few slight Alterations in the Turn of Expression and in single Words, in order to make it more modern; but such as shew no Defect or Error in the Bishop as a Translator, or need any Apology from Me as an Editor. The Reader may be assured, that this is a true and correct Edition of his Lordship's Work, cleared of all those Imperfections which had before disgraced it. The Notes which he will find subjoined in it are my own: And they are such as I thought were proper, either to explain and illustrate the Author's Meaning, or to make this little Piece of one of our celebrated ancient Writers, more instructive and entertaining to the present Age; especially as it has had an unjust, though no uncommon Fate, to be more known and admired all over the World, than it is here at Home.

It is very uncertain in what Year he wrote this imaginary State of a Common Wealth. According to the Account which He gives himself in the Introduction, it could not be earlier than his Embassy into Flanders; which, I believe by the Account of some of our Historians, was in the Year 1516. It is probable however from many Circumstances, that it was  
wrote



## ADVERTISEMENT.

wrote about that Time ; before he was much employed in the King's Service, and whilst He was Under-Sheriff of London. For though he had Courage and Integrity enough for the boldest Undertakings—as we have seen in the foregoing Pages—yet he would scarcely have ventured to indulge his Imagination so freely about Government, when he was not called to it by any Duty, under a Prince so haughty and impatient of any Restraint as HENRY VIII, if He had been admitted at that time into his Familiarity.

There is no doubt, I think, to be made, but that All his own Notions of Government were recommended under this ingenious Fiction of a Common Wealth : And if in some Instances of his Conduct afterwards, he seemed evidently to counteract them, it may be supposed that he had seen Reason to change his Sentiments, upon farther Knowledge, and more Experience of Men and Things. These Instances however, I apprehend, will be found to be very few : And the Diffusion of Property, which is the Ground Work of his Plan, if we may judge from his superlative Contempt of Riches all thro' his life,—which in these days will be thought perhaps to be either Folly or Frenzy—was not One of the Things which he afterwards disapproved. But I will no longer detain the Reader from the Work itself, unless it be to bespeak a candid Interpretation of it, on account of the Age in which it was written ; soon after the Resurrection of Letters in the English Nation.

THE



SIR THOMAS MORE

T O

PETER GILES,

A Gentleman of ANTWERP.

I Am almost ashamed, my dearest PETER GILES, to send you this Book of the Utopian Common-Wealth, after almost a Year's Delay ; when you no doubt look'd for it in six Weeks. For as you are sensible that I had no Occasion to make use of my Invention, or to take Pains to put Things into a Method, because I had nothing to do, but to repeat exactly what I heard RAPHAEL relate in your Presence ; so a studied Elegance of Expression would have been here unnecessary. Since as he delivered Things to us of the sudden, and in a careless Style ; and was, you know, a greater Master of the Greek, than of the Latin ; the plainer

B

my



## 2 SIR THOMAS MORE

my Words are, they will the better resemble his Simplicity, and will consequently be nearer to the Truth. This is all that I think lies on me, and the only Thing in which I thought myself concerned. I confess that I had here very little left for me to do : for the Invention and Ordering of such a Scheme, would have cost a Man, whose Capacity and Learning was of the ordinary Standard, some Pains and Time. But if it had been necessary, that this Relation should have been not only consistent with Truth, but expressed with Elegance, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the Pains and Time that I could have bestowed upon it. My Part in it was so very small, that it could not give me much Trouble ; all that belonged to me being only to give a true and full Account of the Things that I had heard. But though this required so very little of my Time, yet even that little was long denied me by my other Affairs, which press much upon me. For while in pleading and hearing, in judging or composing of Causes, in waiting on some Men upon Business, and



and on others out of Respect, the greatest Part of the Day is spent on other Men's Affairs, the Remainder of it must be given to my Family at Home; so that I can reserve no Part of it to myself, that is, to my Study. I must talk with my Wife, and chat with my Children, and I have somewhat to say to my Servants. All these Things I reckon as a Part of Business, except a Man will resolve to be a Stranger at Home; for with whomsoever either Nature, Chance, or Choice has engaged a Man in any Commerce, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him, as he possibly can; using still such a Temper, that he may not spoil them by an excessive Gentleness, and that his Servants may not become his Masters. In such Things as these, Days, Months, and Years slip away. What is then left for Writing? And yet I have said nothing of that Time that must go for Sleep; or for Meat, in which many waste almost as much of their Time, as in Sleep, which consumes very near the Half of our Life: and indeed all the Time which I can gain to myself, is



#### 4 SIR THOMAS MORE

that which I steal from my Sleep and my Meals; and because that is not much, I have made but a slow Progres; yet as it is somewhat, I have at last got to an End of my Utopia, which I now send to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind of any Thing that has escaped me. For though I would think myself very happy, if I had but as much Invention and Learning as I know I have Memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it; yet I do not rely so entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.

MY Servant, JOHN CLEMENT, has started some Things that shake me. You know he was present with us, as I think he ought to be, at every Conversation that may be of use to him; for I promise myself great Matters from the Progres he has made so early in the Greek and Roman Learning. As far as my Memory serves me, the Bridge over Anider at Amaurot, was, according to RAPHAEL'S Account, 500 Paces broad; but JOHN assures



assures me, he spoke only of 300 Paces ; therefore, pray recollect what you can remember of this ; for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been mistaken ; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, because it is according to the best of my Remembrance \*. For as I will take care that there may be nothing falsely set down ; so if there is any thing doubtful, though I may perhaps tell a Lie, yet I am sure I will not make one ; for I would rather pass for a good Man than for a wise one : but it will be easy to correct this Mistake, if you can either meet with RAPHAEL himself, or know how to write to him.

I HAVE another Difficulty that presses me more, and makes your writing to him the more necessary. I know not whom I ought to blame for it, whether RAPHAEL,

\* His taking notice of a Difference in this little Incident, as well as of the Omission in the following Page, was evidently to cover the Fiction, and give it the Colour of a true History : Nor could the Situation of the Island be ascertained, without discovering that it was imaginary.



## 6 SIR THOMAS MORE

you, or myself; for as we did not think of asking it, so neither did he of telling us, in what Part of the New World Utopia is situated. This was such an Omission that I would gladly redeem it at any Rate: for I am ashamed, that after I have told so many Things concerning this Island, I cannot let my Readers know in what Sea it lies. There are some among us that have a mighty Desire to go thither; and, in particular, one pious Divine is very earnest upon it; not so much out of a vain Curiosity of seeing unknown Countries, as that he may advance our Religion, which is so happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a Mission from the Pope, and to be sent thither as their Bishop. In such a Case as this, he makes no Scruple of aspiring to that Character, but thinks such Ambition meritorious, while actuated solely by a pious Zeal: He desires it only as the Means of advancing the Christian Religion, and not for any Honour or Advantage that may accrue to himself. Therefore I earnestly beg, that if you can possibly



sibly meet with RAPHAEL, or if you know how to write to him, you will be pleased to inform yourself of these Things, that there may be no Falshood left in my Book, nor any important Truth wanting; and perhaps it will not be unfit to let him see the Book itself. For as no Man can correct any Errors that may be in it, so well as he, so by reading it, he will be able to give a more perfect Judgment of it, than he can do upon any Discourse concerning it: And you will be likewise able to discover whether this Undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a Relation of his Travels, perhaps he will not be pleased that I should prevent him, in that Part that belongs to the Utopian Commonwealth; since, if I should do so, his Book will not surprize the World with the Pleasure which this new Discovery will give the Age\*.

I AM

\* Sir THOMAS MORE not only intended that this should pass for a true History, but also to conceal from the Public that he had any Hand in it as an Author: And as there could be no great Probability that the Fiction could remain long undiscovered, we



## 8 SIR THOMAS MORE

I AM so little fond of appearing in print upon this Occasion, that if he dislikes it, I will lay it aside; and even though he should approve of it, I am not positively determined as to the publishing it. The Tastes of Men are very different: Some are of so morose a Temper, so sour a Disposition, and make such absurd Judgments of Things, that Men of chearful and lively Tempers, who indulge their Genius, seem much more happy, than those who waste their Time and Strength in order to publishing a Book; which though of itself it might be useful or pleasant, yet instead of being well received, will be sure to be either laughed at, or censured. Many know nothing of Learning, and others despise it: A Man that is accustomed to a coarse and harsh Style, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling Pretenders to Learning, think all is slight that is not dress'd up in Words that are worn out of use:

may suppose he was the more sollicitous to succeed in the last Intention; having said so many free Things about Religion and Government in his Narrative, repugnant to the Principles of the Times he wrote in.

some



some love only old Things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are so sour that they can allow no Jests, and others so dull that they can endure nothing that is sharp : while some are as much afraid of any thing gay and lively, as a Man bit with a mad Dog is of Water ; others are so light and unsettled, that their Thoughts change as quick as they do their Postures. Some again, when they meet in Taverns, take upon them among their Cups to pass Censures very freely on all Writers, and with a supercilious Liberty to condemn every thing they do not like ; in which they have an Advantage, like that of a bald Man, who can catch hold of another by the Hair, while the other cannot return the like upon him. They are safe as it were from Gun-shot, since there is nothing in them solid enough to be taken hold of. Others are so unthankful, that even when they are well pleased with a Book, yet they think they owe nothing to the Author ; and are like those rude Guests, who after they have been well entertained at a good Dinner, and have glutted their Appetites,

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10 SIR THOMAS MORE, &c.

go away without so much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himself to the Charge of making a Feast for Men of such nice Palates, and so different Tastes; who are so forgetful of the Civilities that are paid them? But do you once clear those Points with RAPHAEL, and then it will be time enough to consider whether it is fit to publish it or not; for since I have been at the Pains to write it, if he consents to its being published, I will follow my Friend's Advice, and chiefly yours. Farewell my dear PETER; commend me kindly to your good Wife, and love me still as you used to do, for I assure you I love you daily more and more.

THE



THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
UTOPIA, &c.  
BOOK I.

**H**ENRY the eighth, the uncon-  
quered king of England, a prince  
adorned with all the virtues that be-  
come a great monarch, having some diffe-  
rences of no small consequence with  
CHARLES the most serene prince of Castile,  
sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for  
treating and composing matters between them.  
I was colleague and companion to that incom-  
parable man CUTHBERT TONSTAL, whom  
the king with such universal applause lately  
made master of the rolls; but of whom I will



say nothing ; not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known that they need not my commendations ; unless I would, according to the proverb, shew the sun with a lanthorn. Those that were appointed by the prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement ; they were all worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them ; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was GEORGE TEMSE the provost of Casselsee : both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent ; he was very learned in the law ; and as he had a great capacity, so by a long practice in affairs, he was very dextrous at unravelling them. After we had several times met without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days to know the prince's pleasure : and since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other ; PETER GILES born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honour, and  
of



of a good rank in his town, tho' less than he deserves ; for I do not know if there be any where to be found a more learned and a better bred young man : for as he is both a very worthy, and a very knowing person ; so he is so civil to all men, so particularly kind to his friends, and so full of candour and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two any where to be found, that is in all respects so perfect a friend : he is extraordinarily modest ; there is no artifice in him ; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity : his conversation was so pleasant and so innocently chearful, that his company in a great measure lessened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children ; which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age ; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him ; so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman.



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seaman. As soon as PETER saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said, do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you. I answered, he should have been very welcome on your account: and on his own too; replied he, if you knew the man; for there is none alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire. Then said I, I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman: but you are much mistaken, said he, for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather a philosopher. This RAPHAEL, who from his family carries the name of HYTH-LODAY, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek; having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in SENECA and CICERO. He is a Portuguese by birth,  
and



and was so desirous of seeing the world, that he divided his estate among his brothers, run the same hazard as AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, and bore a share in three of his four voyages that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of him almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say, that the way to heaven was the same from all places; and he that had no grave, had the heavens still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he with five Castilians had travelled over many countries, at last, by strange good fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships; and, beyond all men's expectations, returned to his native country. When PETER had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness,



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kindness, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man, whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that RAPHAEL and I embraced each other.

AFTER those civilities were past, which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us, that when VESPUTIUS had failed away, he and his companions that staid behind in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the people of the country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at last they not only lived among them without danger, but conversed familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of travelling; both boats when they went by water, and waggons when they travelled over land: He sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recom-



recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days journey, they came to towns, and cities, and commonwealths, that were both happily governed, and well peopled. Under the *Æquator*, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men, that were neither less wild, nor less cruel than the beasts themselves. But as they went farther, a new scene opened; all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild: and at last there were nations, towns, and cities, that had not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbours, but traded both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniences of seeing many countries on all sides; for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-

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bottomed;



bottomed ; their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were of leather : but afterwards they found ships made with round keels, and canvass sails, and in all respects like our ships ; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favour, by shewing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer time ; but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are, perhaps, more secure than safe ; so that there is reason to fear, that this discovery which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place ; it would be too great a digression from our present purpose. Whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper



proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no enquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for every where one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel men-eaters; but it is not so easy to find states that are well and wisely governed\*.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new-discovered countries, so he reckoned up not a few things, from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians: but I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak

\* This is a just satire upon those travels, which are minute in the description of such trifles as bring no acquisition of knowledge, or improvement to mankind; and which are silent in the great affairs of government, of human life, and the history of the heart of man.



of that commonwealth. After RAPHAEL had discoursed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us, and these nations ; had treated of the wise institutions both here and there ; and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had passed, as if he had spent his whole life in it: PETER being struck with admiration, said, I wonder, RAPHAEL, how it comes that you enter into no king's service ; for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable. For your learning and knowledge, both of men and things, is such, that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great advantage to them, by the examples you could set before them, and the advices you could give them ; and by this means you would both serve your own interest, and be of great use to all your friends. As for my friends, answered he, I need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me : for when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my kindred



kindred and friends, which other people do not part with till they are old and sick ; when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves \*. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sakes I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever. Soft and fair, said PETER, I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them. The change of the word, said he, does not alter the matter. But term it as you will, replied PETER, I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private

\* How many people of great wealth, and without a family, this distribution of his riches is a reproach to, who, without a capacity of enjoying a tenth part of what they have, withhold it from public and private charities, and from those very relations and friends to whom they intend to leave it at their death, when they can no longer keep it ; how many people it reproaches, who have great understandings, and know the injury which this avarice does to society ; how many others it condemns, who have to all appearance a great sense of religion, and yet who know that there can be no real religion with such a temper of mind—the reader will be able to determine without any pointing out.



to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier. Happier! answered RAPHAEL; is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend: and there are so many that court the favour of great men, that there will be no great loss, if they are not troubled either with me, or with others of my temper. Upon this, said I, I perceive, RAPHAEL, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find it a little uneasy to yourself: and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the council of some great prince, and putting him on noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good  
and



and evil, flow from the prince, over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs; or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever. You are doubly mistaken, said he, Mr. MORE, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things: for as I have not that capacity that you fancy I have; so, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most princes apply themselves more to affairs of war than to the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much desire it. They are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess: and among the ministers of princes, there are none that are so weak as to need assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise that they imagine they need none: if they court any, it is only those for whom the prince has much personal favour, whom



by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own interests; and indeed nature has so made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own notions. The old crow loves his young, and the ape her cubs. Now if in such a court, made up of persons who envy all others, and only admire themselves, a person should but propose any thing that he had either read in history, or observed in his travels, the rest would think that the reputation of their wisdom would sink, and that their interests would be much depressed, if they could not run it down. If all other things failed, then they would fly to this, "That such or such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us if we could but match them." They would set up their rest on such an answer, as a sufficient confutation of all that could be said; as if it were a great misfortune, that any should be found wiser than his ancestors: but though they willingly let go all the good things that were among those of former ages; yet if better things are proposed, they cover themselves obstinately



nately with this excuse, of reverence to past times. I have met with these proud, morose, and absurd judgments of things in many places, particularly once in England. Was you ever there? said I. Yes, I was, answered he, and staid some months there; not long after the rebellion in the west was suppressed, with a great slaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it.

I WAS then much obliged to that reverend prelate JOHN MORTON archbishop of Canterbury, cardinal, and chancellor of England; a man, PETER, (for Mr. MORE knows well what he was) who was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues, than for the high character he bore: he was of a middle stature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he sometimes took pleasure to try the force of those that came as suitors to him upon business, by speaking sharply, though decently to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind; with which he was much delighted, when  
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it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temper; and he looked on such persons as the fittest men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, had a vast understanding, and a prodigious memory: and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him, were improved by study and experience. When I was in England, the king depended much on his councils, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth, he had been all along practised in affairs; and having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had with great cost acquired a vast stock of wisdom; which is not soon lost, when it is purchased so dear\*.

One day when I was dining with him, there happened to be at table one of the Eng-

\* SIR THOMAS MORE having been bred in the house of cardinal MORTON, introduces in this place a genteel compliment to the memory of his patron; who deserved the character which the author puts in the mouth of a stranger; and which, coming from him, might escape the imputation of flattery, or partiality.

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Iish lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that he said, he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left who were still robbing in all places. Upon this, I, who took the boldness to speak freely before the cardinal, said, There was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves, was neither just in itself, nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime, that it ought to cost a man his life; no punishment how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing, who can find out no other way of livelihood. In this, said I, not only you in England, but a great part of the world imitate some ill masters, that are readier to chastise their scholars, than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves; but it were much better to make such good provisions, by which



which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing, and of dying for it. There has been care enough taken for that, said he; there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live, unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses. That will not serve your turn, said I, for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones: but since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you, that are themselves as idle as drones; that subsist on other men's labour, on the labour of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues, they pare to the quick. This indeed is the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves. But besides this, they



they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living †; and these, as soon as either their lord dies, or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors: for your lords are readier to feed idle people, than to take care of the sick; and often the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as his predecessor did. Now when the stomachs of those that are

† It would be well if our nobility and people of fashion would consider the great injury they do to the public, by retaining so many young and able men in their service; who do nothing, and have nothing to do, but to wear a livery; to loll behind a coach; to learn the follies and vices of their masters in their conversations at table; and when they are dismissed a service for their dishonesty, scarcely any thing else being thought a crime, either go upon the highway, or at best take a public house, and make it a nursery and place of resort for all manner of wickedness. This multiplicity of idle servants, which in the present age is almost a nuisance, takes many useful hands from the public, who might be employed to great advantage in agriculture, and the navy; in both which such hands are extremely wanted. But we seem to be so infatuated, that nothing will awaken us from our luxury, and national folly, 'till it is too late for any purpose but to feel our misery.

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thus turned out of doors, grow keen, they rob no less keenly; and what else can they do? for when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their cloaths, and are tattered, and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it; knowing that one who has been bred up in idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his sword and buckler, despising all the neighbourhood with an insolent scorn as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock; nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire, and in so low a diet as he can afford to give him. To this he answered; This sort of men ought to be particularly cherished, for in them consists the force of the armies for which we have occasion; since their birth inspires them with a nobler sense of honour, than is to be found among tradesmen or ploughmen. You may as well say, replied I, that you must cherish thieves on the account of wars, for you will never want the one as long as you have the other; and as robbers prove sometimes gallant soldiers, so soldiers often prove brave robbers; so near



an alliance there is between those two sorts of life. But this bad custom, so common among you, of keeping many servants, is not peculiar to this nation. In France there is yet a more pestiferous sort of people; for the whole country is full of soldiers, still kept up in time of peace; if such a state of a nation can be called a peace: and these are kept in pay upon the same account that you plead for those idle retainers about noblemen: this being a maxim of those pretended statesmen, that it is necessary for the public safety, to have a good body of veteran soldiers ever in readiness. They think raw men are not to be depended upon, and they sometimes seek occasions for making war, that they may train up their soldiers in the art of cutting throats; or as SALUST observed, for keeping their hands in use, that they may may not grow dull by too long an intermission. But France has learned to its cost, how dangerous it is to feed such beasts. The fate of the Romans, Carthaginians, and Syrians, and many other nations and cities, which were both overturned, and quite ruined by those standing armies, should make others



others wiser : and the folly of this maxim of the French appears plainly even from this, that their trained soldiers often find your raw men prove too hard for them ; of which I will not say much, lest you may think I flatter the English. Every day's experience shews, that the mechanics in the towns, or the clowns in the country, are not afraid of fighting with those idle gentlemen, if they are not disabled by some misfortune in their body, or dispirited by extreme want ; so that you need not fear, that those well-shaped and strong men, (for it is only such that noblemen love to keep about them, till they spoil them) who now grow feeble with ease, and are softened with their effeminate manner of life, would be less fit for action if they were well bred and well employed : and it seems very unreasonable, that for the prospect of a war, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle men, as will always disturb you in time of peace, which is ever to be more considered than war.

BUT



But I do not think that this necessity of stealing, arises only from hence; there is another cause of it more peculiar to England. What is that, said the cardinal? The increase of pasture, said I, by which your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men, and unpeople, not only villages, but towns: for wherever it is found, that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and inclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them; as if forests and parks had swallowed up too little of the land, those worthy men turn the best inhabited places into solitudes. For when an insatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to inclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners, as well as tenants, are

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turned out of their possessions, by tricks, or by main force; or being wearied out with ill usage, they are forced to sell them. By this means those miserable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with their poor but numerous families, (since country business requires many hands) are all forced to change their residence, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell almost for nothing their household-stuff, which could not bring them much money even tho, they might stay for a buyer. When that little money is at an end, for it will be soon spent, what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so to be hanged, (God knows how justly) or to go about and beg? and if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occasion for country labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock, which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands, if it  
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it were to be ploughed and reaped. \* This likewise in many places raises the price of corn. The price of wool is also so risen, that the poor people who were wont to make cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle. For since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners, by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them: to us it might have seemed more just had it fell on the owners themselves. But suppose the sheep should

\* The grievance complained of in this article, was at that time complained of justly; and it was at last so severely felt, that the legislature were obliged to interpose with acts of parliament to promote tillage and husbandry, and to prevent the lands in England from being almost all converted into pasture: perhaps we are running now into an extreme on the other hand—as in this country we generally do—from which the high price of corn in the two last years will most certainly not withhold us. The excessive price however, was not in any degree owing to a want of corn land, or even of corn itself; and since corn is now become a considerable branch of trade, it is to be apprehended that tillage exceeds its due proportion in England; as we may learn from the great price of meat of all sorts for some years, and which is still encreasing upon us to a degree that is even alarming.



increase ever so much their price is not like to fall; since tho' they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that as they are not prest to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do it till they have raised the price as high as possible. And on the same account it is, that the other kinds of cattle are so dear; because many villages being pulled down, and all country labour being much neglected, there are none who make it their business to breed them. The rich do not breed cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean, and at low prices; and after they have fatted them on their own grounds, sell them again at high rates. I do not think that all the inconveniences this will produce, are yet observed; for as they sell the cattle dear, so if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought, can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in great scarcity; and by these means this your island, which seemed as to this particular the happiest in the world, will suffer much by the cursed avarice



avarice of a few persons. Besides this, the rising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do, but either beg or rob? and to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery. There is an excessive vanity in apparel, and great cost in diet; and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen; among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses; and besides those that are known, the taverns and ale-houses are no better. Add to these, dice, cards\*, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and quoits, in which

\* Had our author lived in these days, when gaming is almost the only business of people of fashion, and that not for the running cash of the pocket, but for whole patrimonies; when a majority of the two houses of P——t have formed themselves into a club—even against the ties of differing parties—to establish it as a science, he might perhaps have seen reason to think that gaming was so far from being a pernicious practice, that it was the only thing which could save a sinking



which money runs fast away; and those that are initiated into them, must in the conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish these plagues, and give orders that those who have dispeopled so much soil, may either rebuild the villages they have pulled down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it: restrain those engrossings of the rich, that are as bad almost as monopolies; leave fewer occasions to idleness; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be regulated, that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people, whom want forces to be thieves, or who now being idle vagabonds, or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy for these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft; which tho' it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient. For if you suffer your people to be ill educated,

nation from absolute ruin; or else that so considerable a body of men, of such rank, such patriotism, and such political attainments, would not unite in it so openly against the l——s of the land.

and



and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves, and then punish them?

While I was talking thus, the counsellor who was present had prepared an answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said, according to the formality of a debate; in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are answered; as if the chief trial to be made were of men's memories. You have talked prettily for a stranger, said he, having heard of many things among us, which you have not been able to consider well; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will first repeat in order all that you have said, then I will shew how much your ignorance of our affairs has misled you, and will in the last place answer all your arguments. That I may begin where I promised, there were four things——Hold your peace, said the cardinal, this will take up too much time;



therefore we will at present ease you of the trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if RAPHAEL's affairs and your's can admit of it: But RAPHAEL, said he to me, I would gladly know upon what reason it is that you think theft ought not to be punished by death? Would you give way to it? Or do you propose any other punishment that will be more useful to the public? For since death does not restrain theft, if men thought their lives would be safe, what fear or force could restrain ill men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the punishment, as an invitation to commit more crimes. I answered, It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life: And if it is said, that it is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law; I must say, extream justice is an extream injury: for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offences capital; nor of that opinion of the Stoicks, that makes all crimes equal,

as



as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man, and the taking his purse; between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill; and shall we kill so easily for a little money? But if any one shall say, that by that law we are only forbid to kill, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the same grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of adultery and perjury: for God having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own, or of other peoples lives, if it is pretended that the mutual consent of men in making laws, can authorize manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the divine? and if this is once admitted, by the same rule, men may in all other things put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God. If by the Mosaical law, tho' it was rough and severe, as being a yoke laid on an obstinate and servile



fervile nation, men were only fined, and not put to death for theft; we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderness of a father, he has given us a greater licence to cruelty, than he did to the Jews. Upon these reasons it is, that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is absurd, and of ill consequence to the common-wealth, that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished: for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft, as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed; since if the punishment is the same, there is more security and less danger of discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the way; so that terrifying thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty. \*

But

\* It has long been my opinion, that we presume too much on our power of making laws, and too far infringe on the command of God, by taking away the lives of men, in the manner we do in England, for theft and robbery; and that this is not only a pernicious error,  
for



But as to the question, What more convenient way of punishment can be found?

I think

for the reason given, but a national abomination. It must be granted, that all societies have a power within themselves of making laws to secure property, and of annexing punishments to the breach of them: but then on the other hand, it must be owned that no man or body of men, can have power to make laws which are contrary to the laws of God, or to ordain such punishments for the breach of them as he hath positively forbidden. It is to little purpose to urge, that men may agree to give up their natural rights, for their mutual benefit, and to hold their lives and liberties upon certain terms and conditions, on the breach of which they should be forfeited; because tho' this argument will hold with regard to liberty and property, it will not hold with regard to life; of which God alone is the sole disposer, and over which we have no right, in ourselves, or in other men. A robber in this country indeed sins with his eyes open, and knows the penalty which he is going to incur: but the wilfulness of the crime, is no sort of excuse for making the punishment far exceed the heinousness of the transgression: and who will deny that a little theft or robbery—perhaps of the value of two or three shillings only—is not punished infinitely beyond a just proportion, when it is punished with death?

These laws however, in my opinion, are not more abominable, than they are ill contrived; if this observation, which men versed in affairs make, is true, that the riches of a nation are in proportion to the number of hands employed in works of skill and labour. How many



## 44 THE HISTORY

I think it is much more easy to find out that, than to invent any Thing that is worse. Why should we doubt but the way that was so long in use among the old Romans, who understood so well the arts of government, was very proper for their punishment? They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work their whole lives in quarries, or to dig in mines with chains about them. But the method that I liked best, was that which I observed in my travels in Persia, among the

many hands of this sort which might be so employed, in making sails and cordage for the navy, in our fleets or dock yards, in mending the high ways, or converting waste lands into tillage, are sent every sessions to Tyburn for theft and robbery, the reader need not be told. The laws of God affix no other punishment to these crimes than ample restitution, or perpetual slavery; a word of great horror in England, where we boast so highly of our liberty: but it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foresee, that this liberty, which is now in many cases our misery, will some time or other be our destruction. A confinement of this sort to constant labour for the public—whatever name we give it—would be dreaded worse than death by these wretches, who have no idea of a future state; and consequently deter them more from the commission of such crimes, which is the only reasonable end of punishment in a state.

Polylerits,



Polylerits, who are a considerable and well-governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the king of Persia; but in all other respects they are a free nation, and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea, and are environed with hills; and being contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nation: and as they, according to the genius of their country, have no inclination to enlarge their borders; so their mountains, and the pension they pay to the Persian, secure them from all invasions. Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with splendor, and may be rather called a happy nation, than either eminent or famous; for I do not think that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbours. Those that are found guilty of theft among them, are bound to make restitution to the owner, and not as it is in other places, to the prince; for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief: but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the thieves are estimated, and  
restitution



restitution being made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children, and they themselves are condemned to serve in the public works; but are neither imprisoned, nor chained, unless there happened to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the publick: if they are idle or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used and treated without any mark of reproach, only the lists of them are called always at night, and then they are shut up. They suffer no other uneasiness, but this of constant labour; for as they work for the public, so they are well entertained out of the public stock, which is done differently in different places. In some places, whatever is bestowed on them, is raised by a charitable contribution: and though this way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it: but in other places, public revenues are set aside for them, or there is a constant tax of a poll-money raised for their maintenance. In other places they are set to no public work, but every private man that has occasion

sion



sion to hire workmen, goes to the market-places and hires them of the public, a little lower than he would do a freeman; and if they go lazily about their task, he may quicken them with the whip. By this means there is always some piece of work or other to be done by them; and beside their livelihood they earn somewhat still to the public. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain colour, their hair is cropt a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or cloaths, so they are of their proper colour; but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they give them money: nor is it less penal for any freeman to take money from them, upon any account whatsoever; and it is also death for any of these slaves (so they are called) to handle arms. Those of every division of the country, are distinguished by a peculiar mark; which it is capital for them to lay aside, to go out of their bounds, or to talk with a slave of another jurisdiction; and the very attempt of an escape, is no less penal than an escape itself; it is death for any  
other



other slave to be accessory to it; and if a freeman engages in it he is condemned to slavery: those that discover it are rewarded; if freemen, in money; and if slaves, with liberty, together with a pardon for being accessory to it; that so they might find their account, rather in repenting of their engaging in such a design, than in persisting in it.

THESE are their laws and rules in relation to robbery: and it is obvious that they are as advantageous as they are mild and gentle; since vice is not only destroyed, and men preserved, but they are treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest, and of employing the rest of their lives, in repairing the injuries they have formerly done to society. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old customs. So little do travellers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides, from one jurisdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it; since as they are disarmed, so the very having of money is a sufficient conviction:



viction: and as they are certainly punished if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape; for their habit being in all the parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unless they would go naked; and even then their crop'd ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them, is their conspiring against the government: but those of one division and neighbourhood can do nothing to any purpose, unless a general conspiracy were laid amongst all the slaves of the several jurisdictions, which cannot be done, since they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a design where the concealment would be so dangerous, and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, since by their obedience and patience, and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at last to obtain their liberty; and some are every year restored to it, upon the good character that is given of them. When I had related all this, I added, That I did not see why such a method might not be followed

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with



with more advantage, than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor magnified so much. To this he answered, that it could never take place in England, without endangering the whole nation. As he said this, he shook his head, made some grimaces, and held his peace; while all the company seemed of his opinion, except the cardinal, who said that it was not easy to form a judgment of its success, since it was a method that never yet had been tried. But if, said he, when the sentence of death was past upon a thief, the prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a sanctuary, and it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it did not succeed, the worst would be to execute the sentence on the condemned persons at last: and I do not see, added he, why it would be either unjust, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay. In my opinion, the vagabonds ought to be treated in the same manner; against whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain



gain our end. When the cardinal had done, they all commended the motion, though they had despised it when it came from me; but more particularly commended what related to the vagabonds, because it was his own observation \*.

I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous, but I shall venture at it; for as it is not foreign to this matter, so some good use may be made of it. There was a jester standing by, that counterfeited the fool so naturally, that he seemed to be really one. The jests which he offered were so cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at

E 2

them ;

\* It is impossible for a man to have lived much in the world, and not to see the justness of this satire. It is as old as the days of SOLOMON; and it is probable it will never be extinguished, whilst mankind have the same passions of avarice and ambition; and find that flattery and obsequiousness are the most likely means to procure their gratification.—As to the observation itself, it is as true now as it was then, that notwithstanding all our laws, we have not been able to attain our end against vagabonds; and they still continue to be a grievous nuisance, as well in the streets of London, as on the road.



them ; yet sometimes he said, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleasant ; so as to justify the old proverb, “ that he  
“ who throws the dice often, will some-  
“ times have a lucky hit.” When one of the company had said, that I had taken care of the thieves, and the cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds, so that there remained nothing but that some public provision might be made for the poor, whom sickness or old age had disabled from labour ;  
“ Leave that to me,” said the fool, “ and  
“ I shall take care of them ; for there is no  
“ sort of people whose sight I abhor more,  
“ having been so often vexed with them,  
“ and with their sad complaints : but as  
“ dolefully soever as they have told their  
“ tale, they could never prevail so far as to  
“ draw one penny from me ; for either I  
“ had no mind to give them any thing, or  
“ when I had a mind to do it, I had no-  
“ thing to give them : and they now know  
“ me so well, that they will not lose their  
“ labour, but let me pass without giving me  
“ any trouble, because they hope for no-  
“ thing, no more in faith than if I were a  
“ priest.



“ priest. But I would have a law made  
 “ for sending all these beggars to monaste-  
 “ ries, the men to the Benedictines to be  
 “ made lay-brothers, and the women to  
 “ be nuns.” The cardinal smiled, and ap-  
 proved of it in jest ; but the rest liked it in  
 earnest. There was a divine present, who,  
 though he was a grave morose man, yet  
 was so pleased with this reflection that was  
 made on the priests and the monks, that he  
 began to play with the fool, and said to  
 him, this will not deliver you from all beg-  
 gars, except you take care of us friars.  
 That is done already, answered the fool ;  
 for the cardinal has provided for you, by  
 what he proposed for restraining vagabonds,  
 and setting them to work ; for I know no  
 vagabonds like you. This was well enter-  
 tained by the whole company, who, look-  
 ing at the cardinal, perceived that he was  
 not ill pleased at it ; only the friar himself  
 was vexed, as may be easily imagined, and  
 fell into such a passion, that he could not  
 forbear railing at the fool, and calling him  
 knave, slanderer, backbiter, and son of per-  
 dition, and then cited some dreadful threat-



enings out of the scriptures against him. Now the jester thought he was in his element, and laid about him freely. Good friar, said he, be not angry, for it is written, “in patience possess your soul.” The friar answered (for I shall give you his own words) I am not angry, you hangman; at least I do not sin in it, for the psalmist says, “be ye angry, and sin not.” Upon this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passions: no, my lord, said he, I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a good zeal, as it is said, “the zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;” and we sing in our church, that those who mocked ELISHA as he went up to the house of God, felt the effects of his zeal; which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel, will perhaps feel \*. You do this perhaps with a  
good

\* The reader need not be told, I suppose, that it was the custom in England formerly for all men of fashion and fortune, to keep a servant in their families, under the name and appearance of a fool. This fictitious conversation between a friar and the archbishop’s fool, in which the ill-behaviour and the great ignorance of



good intention, said the cardinal; but in my opinion, it were wiser in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool. No, my lord, answered he, that were not wisely done; for SOLOMON, the wisest of men, said, "Answer a fool according to his folly;" which I now do, and shew him the ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it: for if the many mockers of ELISHA, who was but one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom there are so many bald men? We have likewise a bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated. When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, turned the discourse another way, and soon after

of the former is so much exposed, were in those times thought so indecent and offensive, that in an edition of Sir THOMAS MORE's works, published at Louvain in 1566, this whole passage is left out. It shews us however the contempt which the author had for these people in that superstitious age; and that he had sagacity enough to discern, through all the prejudices of education, that they were a public nuisance.



rose from the table, and dismissing us, went to hear causes.

Thus, Mr. MORE, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I had been ashamed, if, as you earnestly begged it of me, I had not observed you to hearken to it, as if you had no mind to lose any part of it. I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it you at large; that you might observe how those that despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not dislike it, but presently approved of it, fawned on him, and flattered him to such a degree, that they in good earnest applauded those things that he only liked in jest. And from hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels.

To this I answered, you have done me a great kindness in this relation; for as every thing has been related by you, both wisely and pleasantly, so you have made me imagine, that I was in my own country, and grown young again; by recalling that good  
cardinal



cardinal to my thoughts, in whose family I was bred from my childhood ; and tho' you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, because you honour his memory so much. But after all this I cannot change my opinion ; for I still think that if you could overcome that aversion which you have to the courts of princes, you might, by the advice which it is in your power to give, do a great deal of good to mankind ; and this is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living. Your friend PLATO thinks that nations will be happy, when either philosophers become kings, or kings become philosophers ; it is no wonder then if we are so far from that happiness, while philosophers will not think it their duty to assist kings with their councils. They are not so base-minded, said he, but that they would willingly do it : many of them have already done it by their books, if those that are in power would but hearken to their good advice. But PLATO judged right, that except kings themselves became philosophers, they who from their childhood are corrupted with



with false notions, would never fall in intirely with the councils of philosophers; and this he himself found to be true in the person of DIONYSIUS.

Do not you think, that if I were about any king, proposing good laws to him, and endeavouring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court, or at least be laughed at for my pains? for instance, what could it signify if I were about the king of FRANCE, and were called into his cabinet-council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients? as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept; and Naples, that has so often slipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy may be subdued; and then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and some other kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his designs, may be added to his empire. One proposes a league with the Venetians, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate



councils with them, and give them some share of the spoil, till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands. Another proposes the hiring the Germans, and the securing the Switzers by pensions. Another proposes the gaining the emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him. Another proposes a peace with the king of ARRAGON, and in order to cement it, the yielding up the king of NAVARRE's pretensions. Another thinks the prince of CASTILE is to be wrought on, by the hope of an alliance; and that some of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England: a treaty of peace is to be set on foot, and if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible; and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies: therefore the Scots are to be kept in readiness, to be let loose upon England on every occasion; and some banished nobleman is to be supported underhand (for by the league it cannot be done avowedly) who has a pre-  
tension



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tension to the crown, by which means  
 that suspected prince may be kept in awe.  
 Now when things are in so great a ferment-  
 ation, and so many gallant men are joining  
 councils, how to carry on the war, if so  
 mean a man as I should stand up, and wish  
 them to change all their councils, to let  
 Italy alone, and stay at home, since the  
 kingdom of France was indeed greater than  
 could be well governed by one man; there-  
 fore he ought not to think of adding others  
 to it: and if after this, I should propose to  
 them the resolutions of the Achorians, a  
 people that lie on the south-east of Utopia,  
 who long ago engaged in war, in order to  
 add to the dominions of their prince another  
 kingdom, to which he had some pretensions  
 by an ancient alliance; this they conquered,  
 but found that the trouble of keeping it,  
 was equal to that by which it was gained;  
 that the conquered people were always ei-  
 ther in rebellion, or exposed to foreign in-  
 vasions, while they were obliged to be in-  
 cessantly at war, either for or against them,  
 and consequently could never disband their  
 army; that in the mean time they were  
 oppressed with taxes, their money went out  
 of



of the kingdom, their blood was spilt for the glory of their king, without procuring the least advantage to the people, who received not the smallest benefit from it even in time of peace; and that their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murders every where abounded, and their laws fell into contempt; while their king, distracted with the care of two kingdoms, was the less able to apply his mind to the interest of either: when they saw this, and that there would be no end to these evils, they by joint councils made an humble address to their king, desiring him to chuse which of the two kingdoms he had the greatest mind to keep, since he could not hold both; for they were too great a people to be governed by a divided king, since no man would willingly have a groom that should be in common between him and another. Upon which the good prince was forced to quit his new kingdom to one of his friends, (who was not long after dethroned) and to be contented with his old one. To this I would add, that after all those warlike attempts, the vast confusions, and the consumption both of treasure and  
of



of people that must follow them, perhaps upon some misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last; therefore it seemed much more eligible that the king should improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as possible; that he should love his people, and be beloved of them; that he should live among them, govern them gently, and let other kingdoms alone; since that which had fallen to his share was big enough, if not too big for him. Pray how do you think would such a speech as this be heard? I confess, said I, I think not very well.

But what, said he, if I should sort with another kind of ministers, whose chief contrivances and consultations were, by what art the prince's treasures might be encreased: where one proposes raising the value of specie when the king's debts are large, and lowering it when his revenues were to come in, that so he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal: another proposes a pretence of a war, that money might be raised in order to carry it on, and that a peace be concluded as soon  
as



as that was done; and this with such appearances of religion as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince, and to his tenderness for the lives of his subjects: a third offers some old musty laws, that have been antiquated by a long disuse; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the subjects, so they had been also broken by them; and proposes the levying the penalties of these laws, that as it would bring in a vast treasure, so there might be a very good pretence for it, since it would look like the executing a law, and the doing of justice. A fourth proposes the prohibiting of many things under severe penalties, especially such as were against the interest of the people, and then the dispensing with these prohibitions upon great compositions, to those who might find their advantage in breaking them. This would serve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as those whose avarice led them to transgress, would be severely fined, so the selling licences dear, would look as if a prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at low rates, dispense with any thing that might be against the public



public good. Another proposes, that the judges must be made sure, that they may declare always in favour of the prerogative; that they must be often sent for to court, that the king may hear them argue those points in which he is concerned; since how unjust soever any of his pretensions may be, yet still some one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others, or the pride of singularity, or to make their court, would find out some pretence or other to give the king a fair colour to carry the point. For if the judges but differ in opinion, the clearest thing in the world is made by that means disputable, and truth being once brought in question, the king may then take advantage to expound the law for his own profit; while the judges that stand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modesty: and they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the king would have it; for fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favour: it will either be said, that equity lies of his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put



put on them; and when all other things fail, the king's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law; and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard. Thus all consent to that maxim of CRASSUS, that a prince cannot have treasure enough, since he must maintain his armies out of it; that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjustly; that all property is in him, not excepting the very persons of his subjects; and that no man has any other property, but that which the king out of his goodness thinks fit to leave him: they think it is the prince's interest, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that his people should have neither riches nor liberty; since these things make them less easy and less willing to submit to a cruel and unjust government: whereas necessity and poverty blunts them, makes them patient, beats them down, and breaks that height of spirit, that might otherwise dispose them to rebel\*. Now what  
if

\* It is impossible for any one to have read the history of HENRY VII, and not to see that this representation



if after all these propositions were made, I should rise up and assert, that such councils were both unbecoming a king and mischievous to him; and that not only his honour, but his safety consisted more in his people's wealth, than in his own: if I should shew that they choose a king for their own sake, and not for his; that by his care and endeavours they may be both easy and safe; and that therefore a prince ought to take more care of his people's happiness, than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself. It is also certain, that they are much mistaken, who think

of the advice of ministers, is levelled at the infamous measures of getting money from the subject which were pursued in that reign. At the same time that the author shewed his abhorrence of those unjust and arbitrary impositions, he gave an evident proof of his own capacity to assist in the cabinets of princes, by the councils which he proposes of another sort immediately after. When the reader is told that HENRY left near two millions sterling in his vaults at Richmond when he died, there will be no occasion to add the injustice he did the nation, nor the miseries he brought upon them by this injustice, in draining them of their wealth, and then locking it up from circulating in commerce in his own coffers.

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the poverty of a nation is a means of the public safety. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who does more earnestly long for a change, than he that is uneasy in his present circumstances? And who run to create confusions with so desperate a boldness, as those who having nothing to lose, hope to gain by them? If a king should fall under such contempt or envy, that he could not keep his subjects in their duty, but by oppression and ill usage, and by rendering them poor and miserable, it were certainly better for him to quit his kingdom, than to retain it by such methods, as makes him, while he keeps the name of authority, lose the majesty due to it. Nor is it so becoming the dignity of a king to reign over beggars, as over rich and happy subjects. And therefore FABRICIUS, a man of a noble and exalted temper, said, he would rather govern rich men, than be rich himself; since for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to be a jailor and not a king. He is an unskilful physician, that cannot cure one disease without casting his patient into



another: so he that can find no other way for correcting the errors of his people, but by taking from them the conveniencies of life, shews that he knows not what it is to govern a free nation. He himself ought rather to shake off his sloth, or to lay down his pride; for the contempt or hatred that his people have for him, takes its rise from the vices in himself. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his expence to his revenue. Let him punish crimes, and by his wise conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be severe when he has suffered them to be too common. Let him not rashly revive laws that are abrogated by disuse, especially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any penalty for the breach of them, to which a judge would not give way in a private man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjust person for pretending to it. To these things I would add that law among the Macarians, a people that lie not far from Utopia, by which their king, on the day he begins to reign, is tied by an oath confirmed



confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have at once above a thousand pounds of gold in his treasures, or so much silver as is equal to that in value. This law, they tells us, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to the riches of his country, than to his own wealth; and therefore provided against the heaping up of so much treasure, as might impoverish the people. He thought that moderate sum might be sufficient for any accident; if either the king had occasion for it against rebels, or the kingdom against the invasion of an enemy: but that it was not enough to encourage a prince to invade other mens rights; a circumstance that was the chief cause of his making that law. He also thought, that it was a good provision for that free circulation of money, so necessary for the course of commerce and exchange: and when a king must distribute all those extraordinary accessions that increase treasure beyond the due pitch, it makes him less disposed to oppress his subjects. Such a king as this, will be the terror of ill men, and will be beloved by all the good.



If, I say, I should talk of these or such like things, to men that had taken their bials another way, how deaf would they be to all I could say? No doubt, very deaf, answered I, and no wonder; for one is never to offer at propositions or advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Discourses so much out of the road could not avail any thing, nor have any effect on men, whose minds were prepossessed with different sentiments. This philosophical way of speculation, is not unpleasant among friends in a free conversation; but there is no room for it in the courts of princes, where great affairs are carried on by authority. That is what I was saying, replied he, that there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes. Yes, there is, said I, but not for this speculative philosophy, that makes every thing to be alike fitting at all times. But there is another philosophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper scene, accommodates itself to it, and teaches a man with propriety and decency to act that part which has fallen to his share. If when one of PLAUTUS's comedies is upon the stage, and a company of servants



servants are acting their parts, you should come out in the garb of a philosopher, and repeat out of Octavia, a discourse of SENECA's to NERO, would it not be better for you to say nothing, than by mixing things of such different natures, to make an impertinent tragi-comedy? For you spoil and corrupt the play that is in hand, when you mix with it things of an opposite nature, even though they are much better: therefore go through with the play that is acting the best you can; and do not confound it, because another that is pleasanter comes into your thoughts. It is even so in a commonwealth, and in the councils of princes: if ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure some received vice according to your wishes, you must not therefore abandon the commonwealth; for the same reasons as you should not forsake the ship in a storm, because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to assault people with discourses that are out of their road, when you see that their received notions must prevent your making an impression upon them. You ought rather



to cast about, and to manage things with all the dexterity in your power; so that if you are not able to make them go well, they may be as little ill as possible: for except all men were good, every thing cannot be right; and that is a blessing that I do not at present hope to see. According to your arguments, answered he, all that I could be able to do would be to preserve myself from being mad, while I endeavoured to cure the madness of others: for if I speak truth, I must repeat what I have said to you; and as for lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not, I cannot tell: I am sure I cannot do it. But though these discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant. Indeed if I should either propose such things as PLATO has contrived in his commonwealth, or as the Utopians practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so different from our establishment, which is founded on property, there being no such thing among them, that I could not expect that it would have any effect: but  
such



such discourses as mine, which only call past evils to mind, and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd, that they may not be used at any time; for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way: and if we must let alone every thing as absurd or extravagant, which, by reason of the wicked lives of many, may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest part of those things that Christ hath taught us; though he has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the house-tops that which he taught in secret. The greatest parts of his precepts are more opposite to the lives of the men of this age, than any part of my discourse has been: but the preachers seem to have learned that craft to which you advise me; for they observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine, as if it had been a leaden rule, to their lives; that so some way or other they might agree with one another. But I see no other effect of this compliance, except  
it



it be that men become more secure in their wickedness by it: and this is all the success that I can have in a court; for I must always differ from the rest, and then I shall signify nothing; or if I agree with them I shall then only help forward their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dexterously, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be; for in courts they will not bear with a man's holding his peace, or conniving at what others do. A man must openly approve of the worst councils, and consent to the blackest designs; so that he would pass for a spy, or possibly for a traitor, that did but coldly acquiesce in such wicked practices: and therefore when a man is engaged in such a society, he will be so far from being able to mend matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find no occasions of doing any good. The ill company will sooner corrupt him, than be the better for him\*: or if notwithstanding all their ill company,

\* If this is not sufficient to deter a good man from mixing much with the courts of princes, we may add the  
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company, he still remains steady and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing councils with them, he must bear his share of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

It was no ill simile, by which PLATO set forth the unreasonableness of a philosopher's meddling with government. If a man, says he, was to see a great company run out every day into the rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpose for him to go and persuade them to return to their houses, in order to avoid the storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to speak to them, would be that he himself should be as wet as they, it would be best for him to keep within doors; and since he had not influence enough

the testimony of the late lord STANHOPE—a minister of more probity than this nation has ever seen perhaps, or ever will see—who after musing some time in company, started up, and said as to himself, “It is impossible:” and being asked what it was that was impossible, he replied, “It was impossible for a minister to be an honest man.”

to



to correct other peoples folly, to take care to preserve himself.

Tho' to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own, that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily: not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few, (and even these are not in all respects happy) the rest being left to be absolutely miserable. Therefore when I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians, among whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is such an equality, that every man lives in plenty: when I compare with them so many other nations that are still making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitution to a right regulation, notwithstanding every one has his property; where all the laws that they can invent have not the power either to obtain or preserve it,  
or



or even to enable men certainly to distinguish what is their own from what is another's ; of which the many law-suits that every day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a demonstration : when, I say, I ballance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favourable to PLATO, and do not wonder that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things : for so wise a man, could not but foresee that the setting all upon a level, was the only way to make a nation happy ; which cannot be obtained so long as there is property : because when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into indigence. So that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged : the former useless but wicked and ravenous ; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the publick more than themselves, sincere and modest men. From whence I  
am



am persuaded, that till property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess that without taking it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind, may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made to determine at how great an extent in soil, and at how much money every man must stop, to limit the prince that he might not grow too great, and to restrain the people that they might not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to public employments, which ought neither to be sold, nor made burthensome by a great expence;—since otherwise those that serve in them, would be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it would become necessary to find out rich men for undergoing those employments which ought rather to be trusted to the wise—These laws, I say, might have such effects, as good diet and  
care



care might have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate: they might allay and mitigate the disease, but it could never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains: and it will fall out, as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another, and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening one part of the body weakens the rest. On the contrary, answered I, it seems to me, that men cannot live conveniently where all things are common: how can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labour? for as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence that he has in other men's industry, may make him slothful. If people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of any thing as their own; what can follow upon this, but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to magistrates falls to the ground? for I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among those that  
are



are in all things equal to one another. I do not wonder, said he, that it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no right one, of such a constitution: but if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules, as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them ;—and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I should never have left them, if it had not been to make the discovery of that new world to the Europeans ;—you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they. You will not easily persuade me, said PETER, that any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our government, if I mistake not, being more antient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniences of life ; and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man's understanding could ever have invented. As for the antiquity, either of their government, or of ours, said he, you cannot pass a true judgment of it unless you had



had read their histories; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them, before these parts were so much as inhabited: and as for those discoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in industry and application. They knew little concerning us, before our arrival among them; and they call us all by a general name of the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line: for their chronicle mentions a shipwreck that was made on their coast 1200 years ago; and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days amongst them; their ingenuity was such, that from this single opportunity, they drew the advantage of learning from those unlooked for guests, and acquired all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, which were known to these shipwrecked men: and by the hints that

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they



they gave them, they themselves found out even some of those arts which the others could not fully explain; so happily did they improve that accident, of having some of our people cast upon their shore. But if such an accident has at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it; as in after times perhaps it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one such accident, made themselves masters of all the good inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we should learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them: and this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not short of them in point of understanding, or outward advantages. Upon this I said to him, I earnestly beg you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short, but set out in order all things relating to  
their



their foil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know: and you may well imagine that we desire to know every thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant. I will do it very willingly, said he, for I have digested the whole matter carefully; but it will take up some time. Let us go then, said I, first and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough. He consented. We went in and dined, and after dinner came back, and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us; and both PETER and I desired RAPHAEL to be as good as his word: when he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner.



## BOOK II.

THE island of Utopia, is in the middle two hundred miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it; but it grows narrower towards both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent. Between its horns, the sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads itself into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compass of about five hundred miles, and is well secured from winds. In this bay there is no great current: the whole coast is, as it were, one continued harbour, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce; but the entry into the bay, occasioned by rocks on the one hand, and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and may therefore easily be avoided, and on the top of it there is a tower in which a garrison is kept; the other rocks lie under water, and are very



very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives, so that if any stranger should enter into the bay, without one of their pilots, he would run great danger of shipwreck. For even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some marks that are on the coast did not direct their way; and if these should be but a little shifted, any fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost. On the other side of the island, there are likewise many harbours; and the coast is so fortified, both by nature and art, that a small number of men can hinder the descent of a great army. But they report (and there remains good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. Utopus that conquered it (whose name it still carries, for Abraxa was its first name) brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of politeness, that they now far excell all the rest of mankind: having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the conti-



ment, and to bring the sea quite round them. To accomplish this, he ordered a deep channel to be dug fifteen miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only forced the inhabitants, but also his own soldiers, to labour in carrying it on. As he set a vast number of men to work, beyond all mens expectations he brought it to a speedy conclusion: and his neighbours, who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to perfection, than they were struck with admiration and terror.

There are fifty-four cities in the island, all large and well-built; the manners, customs, and laws of which are the same; and they are all contrived as near in the same manner as the ground on which they stand will allow. The nearest lie at least twenty-four miles distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant, but that a man can go on foot in one day from it, to that which lies next it.

Every



Every city send three of their wisest senators once a year to Amaurot, to consult about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the island, and being situated near the center of it, it is the most convenient place for their assemblies. The jurisdiction of every city extends at least twenty miles; and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground. No town desires to enlarge its bounds; for the people consider themselves rather as tenants than landlords. They have built over all the country, farm-houses for husbandmen, which are well-contrived, and are furnished with all things necessary for country labour. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mistress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a magistrate. Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have staid two years in the country, and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they



may learn country work, from those that have been already one year in the country; as they must teach those that come to them next from the town. By this means such as dwell in those country farms, are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors, which might otherwise be fatal, and bring them under a scarcity of corn. But though there is every year such a shifting of the husbandmen, to prevent any man being forced against his will to follow that hard course of life too long; yet many among them take such pleasure in it, that they desire leave to continue in it many years. These husbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very curious manner: for the hens do not sit and hatch them, but vast numbers of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat, in order to be hatched; and they are no sooner out of the shell, and able to stir about, but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers, and follow



follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them. They breed very few horses; but those they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exercising their youth in the art of sitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any work, either of plowing or carriage, in which they employ oxen: because though their horses are stronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not subject to so many diseases, so they are kept upon a less charge, and with less trouble; and even when they are so worn out, that they are no more fit for labour, they are good meat at last. They sow no corn, but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cyder or perry, and often water, now and then boiled with honey or liquorice, with which they abound: and though they know exactly how much corn will serve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption; giving that overplus of which they make no use to their neigh-



neighbours. When they want any thing in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying any thing in exchange for it; and the magistrates of the town take care to see it given them; for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a festival day. When the time of harvest comes, the magistrates in the country send to those in the towns, letting them know how many hands they shall need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent to them, they commonly dispatch it all in one day.

He that knows one of their towns, knows them all, they are so like one another, except where the situation makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Amaurot: For as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in precedence to this, because it is the seat of their supreme council; so there is none of them better known to me, as I have lived five years altogether in it.

It



It lies upon the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground. Its figure is almost square; for from the one side of it, which shoots up almost to the top of the hill, it runs down in a descent for two miles to the river Anider; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Anider rises about eighty miles above Amaurot, in a small spring at first, but other brooks fall into it; of which two are more considerable than the rest. As it runs by Amaurot, it is grown half a mile broad; but it still grows larger and larger, till after sixty miles course below it, it is lost in the ocean. Between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours with a strong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles so full, that there is nothing but salt-water in the river, the fresh water being driven back with its force; and above that, for some miles, the water is brackish, but a little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite fresh; and when the tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the sea. There is a bridge cast over the river,  
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not of timber, but of fair stone, consisting of many stately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is farthest from the sea, so that ships without any hindrance lie all along the side of the town. There is likewise another river that runs by it, which though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly; for it rises out of the same hill on which the town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls into the Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which springs a little without the town; that so if they should happen to be besieged, the enemy might not be able to stop or divert the course of the water, nor poison it; from thence it is carried in earthen pipes to the lower streets: and for those places of the town to which the water of that small river cannot be conveyed, they have great cisterns for receiving the rain-water, which supplies the want of the other. The town is encompassed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts: there is also a broad and deep dry ditch, set thick with thorns, cast round three sides of the town, and the river is instead of a ditch  
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on the fourth side. The streets are very convenient for all carriage, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are so uniform, that a whole side of a street looks like one house. The streets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houses, which are large but enclosed with buildings, that on all hands face the street, so that every house has both a door to the street, and a back door to the garden. Their doors have all two leaves, which as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years end they shift their houses by lots. They cultivate their gardens with great care, so that they have vines, fruits, herbs, and flowers in them; and all is so well ordered, and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens any where that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as theirs. This humour of ordering their gardens so well, is not only kept up by the pleasure they find in it, but also by an emulation between the inhabitants of the several streets, who vie with



with each other; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole town, that is both more useful and more pleasant: so that he who founded the town, seems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens. They say the whole scheme of the town was designed at first by UTOPIUS, but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it, to be added by those that should come after him; that being too much for one man to bring to perfection. Their records, that contain the history of their town and state, are preserved with an exact care, and run backwards 1760 years. From these it appears, that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, made of any sort of timber, and were built with mud walls, and thatched with straw. But now their houses are three stories high; the fronts of them are faced either with stone, plaistering, or brick; and between the facings of their walls, they throw in their rubbish; their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaister which costs very little, and yet  
is



is so tempered, that it is not apt to take fire, and yet resists the weather more than lead. They have great quantities of glass among them, with which they glaze their windows: they use also in their windows, a thin linen cloth, that is so oiled or gummed, that it both keeps out the wind, and gives free admission to the light.

Thirty families choose every year a magistrate, who was anciently called the Syphogrant, but is now called the Philarch: and over every ten Syphogrants with the families subject to them, there is another magistrate, who was anciently called the Tranibore, but of late the Archphilarch. All the Syphogrants, who are in number two hundred, choose the prince out of a list of four, who are named by the people of the four divisions of the city; but they take an oath before they proceed to an election, that they will choose him whom they think most fit for the office. They give their voices secretly, so that it is not known for whom



whom every one gives his suffrage. The prince is for life, unless he is removed upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people. The Tranibors are new chosen every year, but yet they are for the most part continued: and all their other magistrates are only annual. The Tranibors meet every third day, and oftner if necessary, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the state in general, or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people; though that falls out but seldom. There are always two Syphogrants called into the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their government, that no conclusion can be made in any thing that relates to the public, till it has been first debated three several days in their council. It is death for any to meet and consult concerning the state, unless it be either in their ordinary council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people.



THESE things have been so provided among them, that the Prince and the Tranibors may not conspire together to change the government, and enslave the People ; and therefore when any thing of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the Syphogrants ; who after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the senate ; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the council of the whole island. One rule observed in their council, is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed ; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon ; which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the good of the publick, they might rather study to support their first opinions ; and by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country, rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they at first proposed : and there-  
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fore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate, than sudden in their motions.

AGRICULTURE is that which is so universally understood among them, that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it: they are instructed in it from their childhood, partly by what they learn at school, and partly by practice; they being led out often into the fields about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool or flax, masonry, smith's work, or carpenter's work; for there is no other sort of trade that is in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear the same sort of clothes without any distinction, except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters; and as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters.



ters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them, women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women for the most part deal in wool and flax, which suit best with their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men. The same trade generally passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent; but if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined: and when that is to be done, care is taken not only by his father, but by the magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good man. If after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former; and when he has learn'd both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

THE chief, and almost the only business of the Syphogrants, is to take care that no man may live idle, but that every one may follow his trade diligently: yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, from morning



to night, as if they were beasts of burden; which as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is every where the common course of life amongst all mechanics except the Utopians: but they dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work; three of which are before dinner, and three after: they then sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of their time, besides that taken up in work, eating, and sleeping, is left to every man's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise according to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before day-break; at which none are obliged to appear, but those who are mark'd out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort or other, according to their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but  
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are rather commended, as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; when they entertain each other either with musick or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or any such foolish and mischievous games. They have, however, two sorts of games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, in which one number, as it were, consumes another: the other resembles a battle between the virtues and the vices, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against virtue is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice either openly assaults, or secretly undermines virtue; and virtue on the other hand resists it. But the time appointed for labour, is to be narrowly examined; otherwise you may imagine, that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this time is not suf-



ficient for supplying them with plenty of all things, either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much: and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle: then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men: add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that are kept more for shew than use: add further, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find, that the number of those by whose labours mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagine: then consider how few of those that work, are employed in labours that are of real service; for we who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury. If those  
who



who work, were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them, that the prices would so sink, that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains. But if all those who labour about useless things, were set to more profitable employments; and if all they that languish out their lives in sloth and idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work, were forced to labour; you may easily imagine, that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within its due bounds. This appears very plainly in Utopia; for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either men or women, who by their age and strength are capable of labour, that are not engaged in it: even the Syphogrants though excused by the law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work; that by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the People. The like exemption is allowed to those, who being recom-



mended to the people by the priests, are by the secret suffrages of the Syphogrants, privileged from labour, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; but if any of these fall short of those hopes that they seemed at first to give, they are obliged to return to work: and sometimes a mechanic, that so employs his leisure hours, as to make a considerable advancement in learning, is eased from being a tradesman, and ranked among their learned men. Out of these they choose their Ambassadors, their Priests, their Translators, and the Prince himself; anciently called their Barzenes, but is called of late their Ademus.

Thus from the great numbers among them, that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless labour; you may easily make the estimate, how much may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labour. But besides all that has been already said, it is to be considered, that the needful arts among them, are managed with less labour than any where else. The building, or the repairing of houses  
among



among us, employ many hands ; because often a thriftless heir suffers a house that his father built, to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge. It frequently happens too, that the same house which one person built at a vast expence, is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate sense of the beauties of architecture ; and suffering it to fall to ruin, he builds another at no less charge. But among the Utopians, all things are so regulated, that men very seldom build upon a new piece of ground ; and are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but shew their foresight in preventing their decay ; so that their buildings are preserved very long, with but little labour : and thus the builders to whom that care belongs, are often without employment, except the hewing of timber, and the squaring of stones, that the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly, when there is any occasion for it. As to their cloaths, observe how little work is spent in them. While they are at labour they are cloathed with leather and skins,



skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven years ; and when they appear in publick, they put on an upper garment, which hides the other : and these are all of one colour, which is the natural colour of the wool. As they need less woollen cloth than is used any where else, so that which they make use of is much less costly, They use linen cloth more, but that is prepared with less labour ; and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen, or the cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread. While in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colours, and as many vests of silk, will scarce serve one man ; and while those that are nicer think ten too few ; every man there is content with one, which very often serves him two years. Nor is there any thing that can tempt a man to desire more ; for if he had them he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. Thus, since they are all employed in some useful labour ; and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them :



them: so that it frequently happens, that for want of other work, vast numbers are sent out to mend the highways. But when no publick undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are lessened. The magistrates never engage the people in unnecessary labour; since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labour by the necessities of the publick, and to allow all the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists.

BUT it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce, and the rules by which all things are distributed among them.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding; and in  
that



that case he that is next to him in age, comes in his room. But lest any city should become either too great, or by any accident be dispeopled, provision is made that none of their cities may contain above six thousand families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten, and more than sixteen persons in it; but there can be no determined number for the children under age: and this rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple, to any other family that does not abound so much in them. By the same rule, they supply cities that do not increase so fast, from others that breed faster: and if there is any increase over the whole island, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the several towns, and send them over to the neighbouring continent; where, if they find that the inhabitants have more soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a colony, taking the inhabitants into their society, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their method of life, and conform to their rules, which proves a happy-



happinefs to both nations. For according to their constitution, fuch care is taken of the foil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwise too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the natives refuse to conform themfelves to their laws, they drive them out of thofe bounds which they mark out for themfelves, and ufe force if they refift. They account it a very juft caufe of war, for a nation to hinder others from poffeffing a part of that foil, of which they make no ufe, but which is fuffered to lie idle and uncultivated; fince every man has by the law of nature a right to fuch a wafte portion of the earth, as is neceffary for his fubfiftence. If an accident has fo leffened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns, that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the ifland, without diminifhing them too much,—which is faid to have fallen out but twice fince they were firft a people, when great numbers were carried off by the plague — the lofs is then fupplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies; for they will abandon thefe, rather



rather than suffer the towns in the island to sink too low.

BUT to return to their manner of living in society: the oldest man of every family, as has been already said, is its governor. Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a market-place. What is brought thither, and manufactured by the several families, is carried from thence to houses appointed for that purpose, in which all things of a sort are laid by themselves; and thither every father goes and takes whatsoever he or his family stand in need of, without either paying for it, or leaving any thing in exchange. There is no reason for giving a denial to any person, since there is such plenty of every thing among them; and there is no danger of a man's asking for more than he needs: they have no inducements to do this, since they are sure that they shall always be supplied. It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals, either greedy or ravenous; but



but besides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians, there is no room for this. Near these markets there are others for all sorts of provisions, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but also fish, fowl, and cattle. There are also without their towns, places appointed near some running water, for killing their beasts, and for washing away their filth, which is done by their slaves: for they suffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, because they think, that pity and good nature, which are among the best of those affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals: nor do they suffer any thing that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, lest the air should be infected by ill smells which might prejudice their health. In every street there are great halls that lie at an equal distance from each other, distinguished by particular names. The Syphogrants dwell in those that are set over thirty families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other. In these  
halls



halls they all meet and have their repasts. The stewards of every one of them come to the market-place at an appointed hour; and according to the number of those that belong to the hall, they carry home provisions. But they take more care of their sick, than of any others, who are lodg'd and provided for in publick hospitals. They have four hospitals belonging to every town, that are built without their walls, and are so large, that they may pass for little towns: by this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases, may be kept so far from the rest, that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick; and those that are put in them, are looked after with such tender and watchful care, and are so constantly attended by their skilful physicians, that as none is sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town, that if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither, than lie sick at home.

AFTER



AFTER the steward of the hospitals has taken for the sick whatsoever the Physician prescribes, then the best things that are left in the market are distributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers; only, in the first place, they serve the Prince, the Chief Priest, the Tranibors, the Ambassadors, and Strangers, if there are any; which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are houses well furnished, particularly appointed for their reception when they come among them. At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole Syphogranty being called together by sound of trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only such as are in the hospitals, or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are served, no man is hindred to carry provisions home from the market-place; because they know that none does that but for some good reason: for though any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so

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near



near hand. All the uneasy and sordid services about these halls, are performed by their slaves; but the dressing and cooking their meat, and the ordering their tables, belong only to the women; all those of every family taking it by turns. They sit at three or more tables, according to their number; the men sit towards the wall, and the women sit on the other side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon case amongst women with child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nurses room, who are there with the sucking children; where there is always clean water at hand, and cradles in which they may lay the young children, if there is occasion for it, and a fire that they may shift and dress them before it. Every child is nursed by its own mother, if death or sickness does not intervene; and in that case the Syphogrants wives find out a nurse quickly, which is no hard matter; for any one that can do it, offers her self chearfully: And as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, so the child whom they nurse, considers the nurse as its mother. All the children under five  
years



years old, sit among the nurses: the rest of the younger sort of both sexes, till they are fit for marriage, either serve those that sit at table, or, if they are not strong enough for that, stand by them in great silence, and eat what is given them: nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the first table, which stands across the upper end of the hall, sit the Syphogrant and his wife; for that is the chief and most conspicuous place; and next to him sit two of the most ancient, there being always four to a mess. If there is a temple within that Syphogranty, the priest and his wife \* sit with the Syphogrant above all the rest. Next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are so

\* It is plain from the author's giving the priest a wife in this place, that, contrary to the superstition of his own religion, he was a friend to the marriage of Ecclesiasticks. If he did not penetrate into the secret reason of the see of Rome for decreeing their celibacy—as perhaps he did not—yet the visible designs of that court, and the known wickedness and ambition of those prelates who promoted it, must convince him that Holiness and Purity were the things considered in the Canon on that subject. He could not but know too, that the law of CHRIST had not abridged them of the right which was given them by the law of nature; and that any power forbidding what the natural law had allowed, had been foretold as one of the marks of the antichristian spirit.



placed, that as the young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more ancient; which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures. Dishes are not served up to the whole table at first, but the best are first set before the old, whose seats are distinguished from the young, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old men distribute to the younger any curious meats that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an abundance of them that the whole company may be served alike.

Thus old men are honoured with a particular respect; yet all the rest fare as well as they. Both dinner and supper are begun with some lecture of morality that is read to them; but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to them to hear it: from hence the old men take occasion to entertain those about them, with some useful and pleasant enlargements; but they do not engross the whole discourse so to themselves, during their meals,



meals, that the younger may not put in for a share: on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may in that free way of conversation, find out the force of every one's spirit, and observe his temper. They dispatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper; because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the stomach carries on the concoction more vigorously. They never sup without musick, and there is always fruit served up after meat: while they are at table, some burn perfumes, and sprinkle about fragrant ointments, and sweet waters. In short they want nothing that may chear up their spirits: they give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at a great distance, every one eats at home, and no family wants any necessary sort of provision; for it is from them that provisions are sent unto those that live in the towns.

If any man has a mind to visit his friends

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that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the Syphogrant and Tranibors, when there is no particular occasion for him at home. Such as travel, carry with them a passport from the Prince, which both certifies the licence that is granted for travelling, and limits the time of their return. They are furnished with a waggon and a slave, who drives the oxen, and looks after them: but unless there are women in the company, the waggon is sent back at the end of the journey as a needless incumbrance. While they are on the road, they carry no provisions with them; yet they want nothing, but are every where treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer than a night, every one follows his proper occupation, and is very well used by those of his own trade: but if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs, without leave, and is found rambling without a passport, he is severely treated, punished as a fugitive, and sent home disgracefully; and if he falls again into the like fault, is condemned to slavery. If any man has a  
mind



mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it, with his father's permission, and his wife's consent; but when he comes into any of the country houses, if he expects to be entertain'd by them, he must labour with them and conform to their rules: and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct; being thus as useful to the city to which he belongs, as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretences of excusing any from labour. There are no taverns, no ale-houses, nor stews among them; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties. All men live in full view, so that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary task, and to employ themselves well in their spare hours. And it is certain, that a people thus ordered, must live in great abundance of all things; and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want, or be obliged to beg.\*

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\* Without going the author's length in extinguishing all property, it is incontestibly to be demonstrated, even under our own establishment in this nation, that a great part of the degeneracy we complain of, arises from the vast number of



IN their great council at Amaurot, to which there are three sent from every town once a year, they examine what towns abound in provisions, and what are under any scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any sort of exchange: for according to their plenty or scarcity, they supply, or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole island is, as it were, one family. When they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up stores for two years, which they do to prevent the ill consequences of an unfavourable season, they order an exportation of the overplus, both of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather, and cattle; which they send out commonly in great quantities to other nations. They order a seventh part of all these goods to be freely

taverns and ale-houses that are tolerated, for the sake of the tax which is paid for a licence. The morals of our people are not only corrupted in these places, by their loose and idle conversation, and the excesses which are committed in them, but the whole profits of their shops and labour, which should support their families, are often swallowed up there; to the destruction of their own health, the misery of their wives and children, and at last to the ruin of them all.



freely given to the poor of the countries to which they send them, and sell the rest at moderate rates: and by this exchange, they not only bring back those few things that they need at home (for indeed they scarce need any thing but iron) but likewise a great deal of gold and silver; and by their driving this trade so long, it is not to be imagined how vast a treasure they have got among them: so that now they do not much care whether they sell off their merchandize for money in hand, or upon trust. A great part of their treasure is now in bonds; but in all their contracts no private man stands bound, for the writing runs in the name of the town: and the towns that owe them money, raise it from those private hands that owe it to them, lay it up in their publick chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; who choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their hands, who make advantage by it, than to call for it themselves: but if they see that any of their other neighbours stand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them. Whenever they are engaged in war, which is the only occasion in which  
their



their treasure can be usefully employ'd, they make use of it themselves. In great extremities, or sudden accidents, they employ it in hiring foreign troops, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people. They give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own side, or at least to desert it, and that it is the best means of raising mutual jealousies among them. For this end they have an incredible treasure; which they do not keep as a treasure, but in such a manner as I am almost afraid to tell, lest you think it so extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more reason to apprehend; because if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any man's report.

It is certain that all things appears incredible to us, in proportion as they differ from own customs. But one who can judge aright, will not wonder to find, that since their constitution differs so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured by



very different standard. For since they have no use for money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events which seldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervening intervals; they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use: so that it is plain, they must prefer iron, either to gold or silver. For men can no more live without iron, than without fire or water; but nature has mark'd out no use for the other metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity. Whereas on the contrary, it is their opinion, that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless.

If these metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raise a jealousy of the prince and senate, and give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall; a jealousy of their intending to sacrifice



fice the interest of the publick to their own private advantage. If they should work it into vessels, or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it; and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down, if a war made it necessary to employ it in paying their soldiers. To prevent all these inconveniences, they have fallen upon an expedient, which as it agrees with their other policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain belief among us, who value gold so much, and lay it up so carefully. They eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, which make an agreeable appearance though formed of brittle materials: while they make their chamber-pots and close-stools of gold and silver; and that not only in their publick halls, but in their private houses. Of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or a coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem. From hence it is, that while other nations part  
with



with their gold and silver, as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all they possess of those metals, when there were any use for them, but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would esteem the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast, and diamonds, and carbuncles on their rocks. They do not look after them; but if they find them by chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood: but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, they lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets, and other toys.

I NEVER saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the Ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there. As they came to  
treat



treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns met together to wait for their coming. The Ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine cloaths are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, were wont to come very modestly cloathed; but the Anemolians lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely cloathed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vain-glorious, rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much pomp, that they should look like Gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendour. Thus three Ambassadors made their entry with an hundred attendants, all clad in garments of different colours, and the greater part in silk; the Ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth of gold, and adorned with massy chains, and rings of gold: their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls



pearls and other gems: in a word, they were set out with all those things, that, among the Utopians, were either the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the play-things of children. It was not unpleasant to see, on the one side, how they look'd big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain cloaths of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry: and on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression, which they hoped this pomp would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous a shew to all that had never stirr'd out of their country, and had not seen the customs of other nations; that though they paid some reverence to those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the Ambassadors, yet when they saw the Ambassadors themselves, so full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and forbore to treat them with reverence. You might have seen the children, who were grown big enough to despise their play-things, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, push them gently, and cry out, "See that great fool that  
" wears



“wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child.” While their mothers very innocently replied, “Hold your peace, this I believe is one of the Ambassador’s fools.” Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed that they were of no use; for they were too slight to bind their slaves, who could easily break them; and besides hung so loose about them, that they thought it easy to throw them away, and so get from them. But after the Ambassadors had staid a day among them, and saw so vast a quantity of gold in their houses, which was as much despised by them, as it was esteemed in other nations, and beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave, than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and accordingly laid it aside: a resolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in some free discourse with the Utopians, they discovered their sense of such things, and their other customs. The Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring doubtful lustre of  
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of a jewel or a stone, that can look up to a star, or to the sun himself; or how any should value himself, because his cloth is made of a finer thread. For how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear, that gold, which in itself is so useless a thing, should be every where so much esteemed, that even men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, should yet be thought of less value, than this metal: that a man of lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as base as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him, only because he has a great heap of that metal: and if it should happen, that by some accident, or trick of law, (which sometimes produces as great charges as chance itself) all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest slave of his whole family, he himself would very soon become one of his servants; as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortune. But they much more admire and detest the folly of those, who

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when they see a rich man, though they neither owe him any thing, nor are in any sort dependant on his bounty, yet merely because he is rich, give him little less than divine honours ; even though they know him to be so covetous and base minded, that notwithstanding all his wealth, he will not part with one farthing of it to them as long as he lives.

THESE, and such like notions, has that people imbib'd ; partly from their education, being bred in a country, whose customs and laws are opposite to all such foolish maxims : and partly from their learning and studies : for though there are but few in any town that are so wholly excused from labour, as to give themselves entirely up to their studies, —these being only such persons as discover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for letters—yet their children, and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work, in reading ; and this they do through the whole progress of life. They have all their learning in their own tongue ; which is both



a copious and pleasant language, and in which a man can fully express his mind. It runs over a great tract of many countries, but it is not equally pure in all places. They had never so much as heard of the names of any of those philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the world, before we went among them: and yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks, both in musick, logick, arithmetick, and geometry. But as they are almost in every thing equal to the ancient philosophers, so they far exceed our modern logicians; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that our youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical schools that are among us. They are so far from minding chimeras, and fantastical images made in the mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant, when we talked to them of a man in the abstract, as common to all men in particular, (so that though we spoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our fingers, yet none of them could perceive him) and yet distinct from every one, as if he were some monstrous colossus, or giant. Yet for



all this ignorance of these empty notions, they knew astronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies ; and have many instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon and stars. But for the cheat of divining by the stars, by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts. They have a particular sagacity, founded upon much observation, in judging of the weather ; by which they know when they may look for rain, wind, or other alterations in the air. But as to the philosophy of these things ; the causes of the saltness of the sea, of its ebbing and flowing ; and of the original and nature both of the heavens and the earth, they dispute of them, partly, as our ancient philosophers have done, and partly upon some new hypothesis ; in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all things agree among themselves.

As to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes among them, as we have here.



here. They examine what are properly good, both for the body and the mind; and whether any outward thing can be called truly good, or if that term belong only to the endowments of the soul. They enquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure: but their chief dispute is, concerning the happiness of man, and wherein it consists? whether in some one thing, or in a great many? They seem indeed more inclinable to that opinion, that places it not the whole, yet the chief part of man's happiness in pleasure\*; and, what may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion so indulgent to pleasure. For they never dispute

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\* The author takes the side of EPICURUS in this controversy, who considered happiness in itself and in its formal state, and not according to the relation it has to external beings; and in this view he asserted that the felicity of man consisted in pleasure. But pleasure was a word of an ill sound: those who were already corrupt in their morals, made an improper use of it; which the enemies of his sect taking advantage of, the name of an Epicurean became obnoxious. But this was accidental to the doctrine; and the author has illustrated it in the following pages, consonantly to our religion, and in a manner which does honour to the philosopher who promulged it.



concerning happiness, without fetching some arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason; since without the former, they reckon that all our enquiries after happiness, must be but conjectural and defective.

THESE are their religious principles;—that the soul of man is immortal; that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. Though these principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think, that even reason itself determines a man to believe and acknowledge them: and if these were taken away, that no man would be so insensible, as not to seek after pleasure by all possible means, lawful or unlawful; using only this caution, that a lesser pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought to be pursued, that should draw a great deal of pain after it. For they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue virtue, which is



a sour and difficult thing, and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, if a man has no prospect of a reward: and what reward can there be, for one that has passed his whole life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there is nothing to be expected after death? yet they do not place happiness in all sorts of pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest. There is a party among them who place happiness in bare virtue; others think that our natures are conducted by virtue to happiness, as that which is the chief good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature; and think, that we are made by God for that end. They believe that a man then follows the dictates of nature, when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason: and they say, that the first dictate of reason, is, the kindling in us a love and reverence for the divine majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reason directs us, to keep our minds as free from passion, and as chearful as we can; and



that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good nature and humanity, to use our utmost endeavours to help forward the happiness of all other persons. For there never was any man such a morose and severe pursuer of virtue, such an enemy to pleasure, that though he set hard rules for men to undergo, much pain, many watchings, and other rigours, yet did not at the same time advise them to do all they could, in order to relieve and ease the miserable; and who did not represent gentleness and good nature as amiable dispositions. From thence they infer, that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest of mankind,—there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to ease the miseries of others, to free them from trouble and anxiety, and to furnish them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists—nature will more strongly incline him to do all this for himself. A life of pleasure, is either a real evil—and in that case we ought not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is most hurtful and deadly—or if it is



a good thing, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why then ought not a man to begin with himself? Since no man can be more bound to look after the good of another, than after his own: for nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the same time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus as they define virtue to be living according to nature, so they imagine that nature prompts all people on to seek after pleasure, as the end of all they do. They also observe, that in order to our supporting the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to enter into society; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind, as to be the only favourite of nature; which on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that belong to the same species. Upon this they infer, that no man ought to seek his own conveniences so eagerly, as to prejudice others: and therefore they think, that not only all agreements between private persons ought to be observed; but likewise, that all those laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people,



people, that is neither oppressed with tyranny, nor circumvented by fraud, has consented, for distributing those conveniences of life which afford us all our pleasures.

THEY think it is an evidence of true wisdom, for a man to pursue his own advantages, as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety, to prefer the publick good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjust, for a man to seek for pleasure, by snatching another man's pleasures from him. On the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by this means, a good man finds as much pleasure one way, as he parts with another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that he makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the mind more pleasure, than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained it self: and they are also persuaded that God will make up the  
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loss of those small pleasures, with a vast and endless joy, of which religion easily convinces a good soul.

Thus upon an enquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness; and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teaches us to delight, a pleasure. Thus they cautiously limit pleasure, only to those appetites to which nature leads us, and to such as draw no troubles after them; for they say that nature leads us only to those delights to which reason as well as sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other person, nor lose the possession of greater pleasures: but they look upon those delights which men by a foolish, tho' common mistake, call pleasure,—as if they could change as easily the nature of things, as the use of words — as what greatly obstruct their real happiness, instead of advancing it; because they so entirely possess the minds of those that are once captivated by them, with a false notion of pleasure, that there is no room left for pleasures of a truer or purer kind.

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THERE are many things that in themselves have nothing truly delightful; on the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterness in them: and yet from our perverse appetites after forbidden objects, are not only ranked among the pleasures, but are made even the greatest designs of life. Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, they reckon such as I mentioned before, who imagine themselves really the better for having fine clothes; in which they think they are doubly mistaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in that they have of themselves. For if you consider the use of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves to be more valuable, imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich coat, to which they would not have pretended, if they had been more meanly cloathed; and even resent it as an affront, if that respect is not paid them. But it is a great folly to be



be taken with outward marks of respect, which signify nothing : for what true or real pleasure can one man find in another's standing bare, or making congees to him ? Will the bending another man's knee give ease to yours ? And will his head's being made bare cure the madness of yours ? It is wonderful however to see, how this false notion of pleasure bewitches many, who delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility ; and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors, who have been held for some successions rich, and who have had great possessions ; for this is all that makes nobility at present : yet they do not think themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them ; or though they themselves have squandered it all away.

THE Utopians have no better opinion of those, who are much taken with gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness next to a divine one, if they can purchase one that is very extraordinary ; especially if it be of that sort of stones, that is then in greatest request.



request. For the same sort is not at all times universally of the same value; nor will men buy it, unless it be dismounted and taken out of the gold. The jeweller is then made to give good security, and required solemnly to swear that the stone is true, that by such an exact caution a false one might not be bought instead of a true. And yet if you were to examine it, your eye could find no difference between the counterfeit, and that which is true; so that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. But can it be thought farther, that they who heap up an useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but meerly to please themselves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find, is only a false shadow of joy. The pleasure of those is no better, whose error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of losing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the restoring it to it again; it being thus cut off from being useful, either to its owner, or to the rest of mankind? And yet the owner having hid it carefully, is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. If it should be  
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stole, though he might live perhaps ten years after the theft, of which he knew nothing, he would find no difference between his having, or losing it; for both ways it was equally useless to him.

AMONG those foolish pursuers of pleasure, they reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming; of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them. But they have asked us, what sort of pleasure it is that men can find in throwing the dice? For if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing it so often should give one a surfeit of it: and what pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem rather odious than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing dogs run after a hare, more than of seeing one dog run after another: for if the seeing them run is that which gives the pleasure, you have the same entertainment to the eye on both these occasions; since that is the same in both cases: but if the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather



rather to stir pity, that a weak, harmless, and fearful hare, should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs. Therefore all this business of hunting, is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers, who, as has been already said, are all slaves: and they look on hunting, as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work: for they account it both more profitable, and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal, can only attract the huntsman with a false shew of pleasure, from which he can reap but small advantage. They look on the desire of the bloodshed, even of beasts, as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of so brutal a pleasure, must degenerate into it.

Thus, though the rabble of mankind look upon these, and on innumerable other things of the same nature, as pleasures; the Utopians on the contrary, observing that there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude, that they are not to be reckoned among  
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pleasures. For though these things may create some tickling in the senses, (which seems to be a true notion of pleasure) yet they imagine that this does not arise from the thing it self, but from a depraved custom, which may so vitiate a man's taste, that bitter things may pass for sweet; as women with child think pitch or tallow taste sweeter than honey; but as a man's sense when corrupted, either by a disease, or some ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, so neither can it change the nature of pleasure.

THEY reckon up several sorts of pleasures, which they call true ones : some of which belong to the body, and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it ; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts ; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed, either by recruiting nature, and supplying those

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parts which feed the internal heat of life by eating and drinking; or when nature is eased of any surcharge that oppresses it; when we are relieved from sudden pain; or that which arises from satisfying the appetite which nature has wisely given to lead us to the propagation of the species. There is another kind of pleasure that arises neither from our receiving what the body requires, nor its being relieved when overcharged; and yet by a secret unseen virtue affects the senses, raises the passions, and strikes the mind with generous impressions; this is the pleasure that arises from musick. Another kind of bodily pleasure, is that which results from an undisturb'd and vigorous constitution of body, when life and active spirits seem to actuate every part. This lively health, when entirely free from all mixture of pain, of itself gives an inward pleasure, independant of all external objects of delight: and though this pleasure does not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, yet it may be esteemed as the greatest of all pleasures; and almost all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and basis of all the other



other joys of life : since this alone makes the state of life easy and desirable ; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleasure. They look upon freedom from pain, if it does not rise from perfect health, to be a state of stupidity, rather than of pleasure. This subject has been very narrowly canvassed among them ; and it has been debated, whether a firm and entire health could be called a pleasure, or not ? Some have thought that there was no pleasure, but what was excited by some sensible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago excluded from among them ; so that now they almost universally agree, that health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures : and that as there is a pain in sickness, which is as opposite in its nature to pleasure, as sickness itself is to health ; so they hold, that health is accompanied with pleasure : and if any should say, that sickness is not really pain, but that it only carries pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of subtilty, that does not much alter the matter. It is all one in their opinion, whether it be said, that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begets a pleasure,

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sure, as fire gives heat ; so that it be granted, that all those whose health is entire, have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it : and they reason thus ; what is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's health which had been weakened, does, with the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and so recruiting itself, recovers its former vigour ; and being thus refresh'd, it finds a pleasure in that conflict ? And if the conflict is pleasure, the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure, except we fancy that it becomes stupid as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so neither knows nor rejoices in its own welfare. If it is said, that health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny it ; for what man is in health, that does not perceive it when he is awake ? Is there any man that is so dull and stupid, as not to acknowledge that he feels a delight in health ? And what is delight, but another name for pleasure ?

BUT of all pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind ; the chief of which arise out of true virtue, and the witness of a good conscience. They account



count health the chief pleasure that belongs to the body; for they think that the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of sense, are only so far desirable, as they give or maintain health: but they are not pleasant in themselves, otherwise than as they resist those impressions that our natural infirmities are still making upon us. For as a wise man desires rather to avoid diseases, than to take physick; and to be freed from pain, rather than to find ease by remedies; so it is more desirable, not to need this sort of pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any man imagines that there is a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all men, if he were to lead his life in perpetual hunger, thirst, and itching, and by consequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and scratching himself; which any one may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable state of life. These are indeed the lowest of pleasures, and the least pure: for we can never relish them, but when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating; and here



pain out-ballances the pleasure : but as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer ; for as it begins before the pleasure, so it does not cease but with the pleasure that extinguishes it, and both expire together. They think, therefore, none of those pleasures are to be valued, any further than as they are necessary ; yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderness of the great author of nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which those things that are necessary for our preservation, are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a thing would life be, if those daily diseases of hunger and thirst, were to be carried off by such bitter drugs, as we must use for those diseases that return seldomer upon us ? And thus these pleasant, as well as proper gifts of nature, maintain the strength and the sprightliness of our bodies.

THEY also entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, their ears and their nostrils ; as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man. For no  
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other sort of animals contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe; nor is delighted with smells, any farther than as they distinguish meats by them; nor do they apprehend the concords or discords of sound: yet in all pleasures whatsoever, they take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they think always follows dishonest pleasures. But they suppose it madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face, or the force of his natural strength; to corrupt the sprightliness of his body by sloth and laziness, or to waste it by fasting; that it is madness to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life; unless by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the publick, or promote the happiness of others, for which he expects a greater recompence from God. So that they look on such a course of life, as the mark of a mind that is both cruel to it self, and ungrateful to the author of nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his favours, and therefore rejects all his blessings; as one who should afflict himself for the empty shadow of vir-



tue; or for no better end, than to render himself capable of bearing those misfortunes which possibly will never happen.

THIS is their notion of virtue and of pleasure; and they think that no man's reason can carry him to a truer idea of them, unless some discovery from heaven should inspire him with sublimer notions. I have not now the leisure to examine, whether they think right or wrong in this matter; nor do I judge it necessary: for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their constitution, but not to defend all their principles. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their notions, there is not in the whole world, either a better people, or a happier government. Their bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle stature, and have neither the fruitfulest soil, nor the purest air in the world, yet they fortify themselves so well by their temperate course of life against the unhealthiness of their air, and by their industry they so cultivate their soil, that there is no where to be seen a greater increase, both of corn and cattle; nor are there



there any where healthier men, and freer from diseases: one may there see reduced to practice, not only all the art that the husbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill soil, but whole woods pluck'd up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted, where there were none before. Their principal motive for this, is the convenience of carriage, that their timber may be either near their towns, or growing on the banks of the sea, or of some rivers, so as to be floated to them; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any distance over land, than corn. The people are industrious, apt to learn, as well as chearful and pleasant; and none can endure more labour, when it is necessary; but except in that case they love their ease. They are unwearied pursuers of knowledge; for when we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only instructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and their poets, that they would value much) it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that language. We began to  
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read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than out of any hopes of their reaping from it any great advantage : but after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that we saw our labour was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write their characters, and to pronounce their language so exactly, had so quick an apprehension, remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have looked like a miracle, if the greater part of those whom we taught, had not been men, both of extraordinary capacity, and of a fit age for instruction. They were for the greatest part chosen from among their learned men, by their chief council, though some studied it of their own accord. In three years time they became masters of the whole language, so that they read the best of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think, that they learned that language the more easily, from its having some relation to their own ; for I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks : and though their language come nearer the Persian,



fian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, that are of Greek derivation. I happened to carry a great many books with me, instead of merchandise, when I sailed my fourth voyage: for I was so far from thinking of soon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all; and I gave them all my books, among which were many of PLATO's and some of ARISTOTLE's Works. I had also THEOPHRASTUS on plants, which to my great regret was imperfect; for having laid it carelessly by, while we were at sea, a monkey had seized upon it and in many places torn out the leaves. They have no books of grammar, but LASCARES, for I did not carry THEODORUS with me; nor have they any dictionaries but HESICHIUS and DIOSCORIDES. They esteem PLUTARCH highly; and were much taken with LUCIAN's wit, and with his pleasant way of writing. As for the poets, they have ARISTOPHANES, HOMER, EURIPIDES, and SOPHOCLES of ALDUS's edition; and for historians, THUCIDIDES, HERODOTUS and HERODIAN. One of my companions, THRICIUS APINATUS, happened to carry

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ry with him some of HIPPOCRATES's works, and GALEN's Microteanac, which they hold in great estimation : for tho' there is no nation in the world, that needs physick so little as they do, yet there is not any that honours it so much. They reckon the knowledge of it one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of philosophy ; by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find this study highly agreeable, but think that such enquiries are very acceptable to the author of nature : they imagine, that as he, like the inventors of curious engines amongst mankind, has exposed this great machine of the universe, to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer who admires his workmanship, is much more acceptable to him than one of the herd ; who like a beast incapable of reason, looks on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

THE minds of the Utopians thus filled with a love for learning, are very ingenious in discovering all such arts as are necessary to carry  
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it to perfection. Two things they owe to us; the manufacture of paper, and the art of printing: yet they are not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries, but that a great part of the invention was their own. We shewed them some books printed by ALDUS; we explained to them the way of making paper, and the mystery of printing; but as we had never practised these arts, we described them in a crude and superficial manner. They seized the hints we gave them; and though at first they could not arrive at perfection, yet by making many essays, they at last found out, and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Before this they only wrote on parchment, on reeds, or on the barks of trees; but now they have established the manufactures of paper, and set up printing-presses; so that if they had but a good number of Greek authors, they would be quickly supplied with many copies of them. At present, though they have no more than those I have mentioned, yet by several impressions, they have multiplied them into many thousands. If any man was to go among them,  
that



that had some extraordinary talent, or that by much travelling had observed the customs of many nations, (which made us to be so well received) he would receive a hearty welcome; for they are very desirous to know the state of the whole world, Very few go among them on the account of traffick; for what can a man carry to them but iron, or gold, or silver; which merchants desire rather to export, than import to a strange country: And as for their exportation, they think it better to manage that themselves, than to leave it to foreigners; for by this means, as they understand the state of the neighbouring countries better, so they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

THEY do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken in battle; nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of those of other nations. The slaves among them, are only such as are condemned to that state of life for the commission of some crime; or which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts



parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem at low rates, and in other places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual labour, and are always chained; but with this difference, that their own natives are treated much worse than others: they are considered as more profligate than the rest, and since they could not be restrained by the advantages of so excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder usage. Another sort of slaves, are the poor of the neighbouring countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them: they treat these better, and use them in all other respects, as well as their own country men, except their imposing more labour upon them; which is no hard task to those that have been accustomed to it: and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty handed.

I HAVE already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their  
ease



ease or health: and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and to make their lives as comfortable as possible: they visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass off easily. But when any one is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, are become a burden to themselves and to all about them, and have really outlived themselves, they should no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but choose rather to die, since they cannot live but in much misery; being assured, that if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after death \*. Since they

\* How our author came to take up this notion, both so unphilosophical and so irreligious, it is hard to say. But that it was his own notion of this matter, even to the end of his life, is very evident: because in one of his conversations with his daughter ROGER in the tower, he tells her, “ that  
 “ if it had not been for his wife and children—whom he ac-  
 “ counted the chief part of his charge—he would not have  
 “ failed, long before, to have closed himself in as strait a room  
 “ as



they lose none of the pleasures, but only the troubles of life by this, they think they behave not only reasonably, but in a manner consistent with religion and piety; because they follow the advice given them by their priests, who are the expounders of the will of God. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, either starve themselves of their own accord, or take opium, and by that means die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, this does not induce the others to fail in their attendance and care of them. But as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is chosen upon such an authority, is very honourable; so if any

“as that, and straiter too.” With regard to the Utopians, he has exculpated the people from any crime in putting an end to their lives, as it is in submission to their priests and magistrates; but why He makes them expound the will of God so absurdly on this article, He has given us no reason; and probably because he could give none. Even among them however he does not allow of suicide, at a man’s own caprice and humour, without the approbation of the priests and senate; to whom he gives an authority, not of putting miserable people to death to rid themselves of their calamities, but of consenting to that expedient, if they themselves desire it upon proper motives, and in proper circumstances.

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man takes away his own life, without the approbation of the priests and the senate, they give him none of the honours of a decent funeral, but throw his body into a ditch.

THEIR women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two and twenty; and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before marriage, they are severely punished, and the privilege of marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special warrant from the prince. Such disorders cast a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the family in which they happen; for it is supposed, that they have failed in their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely, is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a state in which they venture the quiet of their whole lives by being confined to one person, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniences with which it is accompanied. In choosing their wives, they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous; but it is constantly observed among them,



them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage, some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that, some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride\*. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations; who if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious that they will see every part of him, and take off his saddle and all his other covering, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about an hands-

\* Lord BACON in his New Atlantis takes notice of the custom mentioned here, and objects to it as implying "a scorn to give refusal after so familiar knowledge. But because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies," he establishes in his common wealth, another which he calls "a more civil way; near every town are a couple of pools—which they call ADAM and EVE's pools—where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman to see them severally bathe naked."



breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered ; under which there may lie hid what may be contagious as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities ; and even wise men consider the body, as that which adds not a little to the mind : And it is certain, there may be some such deformity covered with the clothes, as may totally alienate a man from his wife, when it is too late to part with her. If such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience : and therefore they think it is reasonable, that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

THERE was so much the more reason for them to make a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that neither allow of polygamy, nor of divorces, except in the case of adultery, or insufferable perverseness. For in these cases the senate dissolves the marriage, and grants the injured person leave to marry again ; but the guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the privilege of a second marriage.

None



None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, from any great calamity that may have fallen on their persons: for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons, when they need most the tender care of their consort; and that chiefly in the case of old age, which as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it frequently falls out, that when a married couple do not well agree, they by mutual consent separate, and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily: yet this is not done, without obtaining leave of the senate; which never admits of a divorce, but upon a strict enquiry made, both by the senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is desired; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness, in granting leave for new marriages, would very much shake the kindness of married people. They punish severely those that defile the marriage-bed. If both parties are married they are divorced, and the injured persons



may marry one another, or whom they please; but the adulterer, and the adulteress are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake off the love of the married person, they may live with them still in that state; but they must follow them to that labour to which the slaves are condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the prince, that he has taken off the sentence. But those that relapse, after they are once pardoned, are punished with death.

THEIR law does not determine the punishment for other crimes; but that is left to the senate, to temper it according to the circumstances of the fact. Husbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to chastise their children, unless the fault is so great, that a publick punishment is thought necessary for striking terror into others. For the most part, slavery is the punishment even of the greatest crimes; for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death,



so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude, is more for the interest of the common-wealth than killing them. Since as their labour is a greater benefit to the publick, than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men, than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke, and submit to the labour that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a prison, nor by their chains; and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure that lies so hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed, than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope, but that at last either the Prince by his prerogative, or the people by their intercession, will restore them again to their liberty, or at least very much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery, is no less severely punished than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate design to commit a crime, is equal to the fact



itself; since it's not taking effect does not make the person that miscarried in his attempt at all the less guilty.

THEY take great pleasure in fools; and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly: and in their opinion this is a great advantage to the fools themselves. For if men were so fullen and severe, as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous behaviour and foolish sayings, which is all they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be\*. If any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person

\* This was inserted probably in order to make an apology for the custom of his own country at that time; in which every man of fashion—as we call them—had his fool to divert him, as regularly as the same men now have their French Valet de Chambre to dress them: and this is a much better apology for that custom of our ancestors, than can be made for this of our contemporaries: the one might be absurd, but the other is pernicious.



son so treated, but it would be accounted scandalous in him that had upbraided another with what he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind, not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use paint. They all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband, as the probity of her life, and her obedience: for as some few are caught and held only by beauty, so all are attracted by the other excellencies which charm all the world.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishments, so they invite them to the love of virtue by publick honours: therefore they erect statues to the memories of such worthy men as have deserved well of their country, and set these in their market-places; both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their posterity to follow their example.

If any man aspires to any office, he is sure never to compass it. They all live easily together; for none of the magistrates are either insolent.



insolent or cruel to the people. They affect rather to be called fathers, and by being really so, they will deserve the name; and the people pay them all the marks of honour the more freely, because none are exacted from them. The prince himself has no distinction, either of garments, or of a crown; but is only distinguished by a sheaf of corn carried before him; as the high priest is also known by his being preceded by a person carrying a wax light.

THEY have but few laws; and such is their constitution, that they need not many. They very much condemn other nations, whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws, that are both of such a bulk, and so dark, as not to be read and understood by every one of the subjects.

THEY have no lawyers among them; for they consider them as a sort of people, whose profession it is to disguise matters, and to wrest the laws; and therefore they think it  
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is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge; as in other places the client trusts it to a counsellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out truth more certainly. For after the parties have laid open the merits of the cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and supports the simplicity of such well-meaning persons, whom otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down: and thus they avoid those evils, which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labour under a vast load of laws. Every one of them is skilled in their law; for as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable, is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus: all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty: and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the words, is that which ought to be put upon them; since a more refined exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and would only serve to make the laws become useless to the greater part of mankind, and  
espe-



especially to those who need most the direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a law at all, or to couch it in such terms, that without a quick apprehension, and much study, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it; the generality of mankind being both so dull, and so much employed in their several trades, that they have neither the leisure nor the capacity requisite for such an enquiry.

SOME of their neighbours, who are masters of their own liberties, having long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shaken off the yoke of tyranny; and being much taken with those virtues which they observe among them, have come to desire that they would send magistrates to govern them; some changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government, they bring them back to Utopia with great expressions of honour and esteem, and carry away others to govern in their stead. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety: for since the good or ill condition of



a nation depends so much upon their magistrates, they could not have made a better choice, than by pitching on men whom no advantages can byass. As wealth is of no use to them who must so soon go back to their own country, so they being strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animosities : and it is certain, that when publick judicatories are sway'd either by avarice or partial affections, there must follow a dissolution of justice, the chief sinew of society.

THE Utopians call those nations that came and ask magistrates from them, neighbours ; but those to whom they have been of more particular service, friends. As all other Nations are perpetually either making leagues or breaking them, they never enter into alliance with any state. They think leagues are useless things ; and believe that if the common ties of humanity do not knit men together, the faith of promises will have no great effect : and they are the more confirmed in this, by what they see among the nations round about them, who are no strict observers



servers of leagues and treaties. We know how religiously they are observed in Europe; more particularly where the christian doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable. This is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence they pay to the popes; who, as they are most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other princes to perform theirs: and when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure; thinking that it would be the most indecent thing possible, if men who are particularly distinguished by the title of the Faithful, should not religiously keep the Faith of their treaties. But in that new-found world, which is not more distant from us in situation, than the people are in their manners and course of life, there is no trusting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies: on the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken; some slight pretence being found in the words of the treaties, which are purposely couched in such ambiguous terms, that



that they can never be so strictly bound, but they will always find some loop-hole to escape at; and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. This is done with such impudence, that those very men who value themselves on having suggested these expedients to their princes, would with a haughty scorn declaim against such craft; or to speak plainer, such fraud and deceit, if they found private men make use of it in their bargains; and would readily say, that they deserved to be hanged.

By this means it is, that all sort of justice passes in the world, for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, far below the dignity of royal greatness. Or at least, there are set up two sorts of justice: the one is mean and creeps on the ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower part of mankind; and so must be kept in severely by many restraints, that it may not break out beyond the bounds that are set to it. The other is the peculiar virtue of princes, which as it is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, so takes a freer compass; and thus lawful  
and



and unlawful, are only measured by pleasure and interest. These practices of the princes that lie about Utopia, who make so little account of their faith, seem to be the reasons that determine them to engage in no confederacies. Perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us: but yet tho' treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the custom of making them, since the world has taken up a false maxim upon it; as if there were no tie of nature uniting one nation to another, only separated perhaps by a mountain, or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility, and so might lawfully do all that mischief to their neighbours, against which there is no provision made by treaties: and that when treaties are made, they do not cut off the enmity, or restrain the license of preying upon each other, if by the unskilfulness of wording them, there are not effectual proviso's made against them. They, on the other hand, judge that no man is to be esteemed our enemy that has never injured us; that the partnership of the human nature, is instead of a league; and that kindness and good nature unite



unite men more effectually, and with greater strength, than any agreements whatsoever; since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger, than the bond and obligation of words.

THEY detest war as a very brutal thing; and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by men, than any sort of beasts. In opposition to the sentiments of almost all other nations, they think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war: and, therefore, tho' they accustom themselves daily to military exercises, and the discipline of war, in which not only their men, but their women likewise, are trained up, that in cases of necessity, they may not be quite useless; yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be either to defend themselves, or their friends, from any unjust aggressors; or out of good nature or in compassion to assist an oppressed nation in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They indeed help their friends, not only in defensive, but also in offensive wars: but they never do that, unless they had been con-

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sulted before the breach was made, and being satisfied with the grounds on which they went, they had found that all demands of reparation were rejected, so that a war was unavoidable. This they think to be not only just, when one neighbour makes an inroad on another, by publick order, and carry away the spoils; but when the merchants of one country are oppressed in another, either under pretence of some unjust laws, or by the perverse wresting of good ones. This they count a juster cause of war than the other, because those injuries are done under some colour of laws. This was the only ground of that war, in which they engaged with the Nephelotes against the Aleopolitans, a little before our time: for the merchants of the former, having, as they thought, met with great injustice among the latter, which, whether it was in itself right or wrong, drew on a terrible war, in which many of their neighbours were engaged; and their keenness in carrying it on, being supported by their strength in maintaining it, it not only shook some very flourishing states, and very much afflicted others, but after a series



series of much mischief, ended in the entire conquest and slavery of the Aleopolitanes; who, though before the war they were in all respects much superior to the Nephelogetes, were yet subdued; but though the Utopians had assisted them in the war, yet they pretended to no share of the spoil.

THOUGH they so vigorously assist their friends in obtaining reparation for the injuries they have received in affairs of this nature, yet if any such frauds were committed against themselves, provided no violence was done to their persons, they would only, on their being refused satisfaction, forbear trading with such a people. This is not because they consider their neighbours more than their own citizens; but since their neighbours trade every one upon his own stock, fraud is a more sensible injury to them, than it is to the Utopians, among whom the Publick in such a case only suffers. As they expect nothing in return for the merchandizes they export, but that in which they so much abound, and is of little use to them, the loss does not much affect them; they think there-



fore it would be too severe to revenge a loss attended with so little inconvenience either to their lives, or their subsistence, with the death of many persons: but if any of their people are either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by publick authority, or only by private men, as soon as they hear of it, they send ambassadors, and demand that the guilty persons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare war; but if it be complied with, the offenders are condemned either to death or slavery.

THEY would be both troubled and ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies; thinking it would be as foolish a purchase, as to buy the most valuable goods at too high a rate: and in no victory do they glory so much, as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint publick triumphs, and erect trophies to the honour of those who have succeeded; for then do they reckon that a man acts suitable to his nature, when he conquers his enemy in such a way, as that

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no other creature but a man could be capable of; and that is, by the strength of his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs, and all other animals imploy their bodily force one against another; in which, as many of them are superior to men both in strength and fierceness, so they are all subdued by his reason and understanding.

THE only design of the Utopians in war, is to obtain that by force, which if it had been granted them in time, would have prevented the war; or if that cannot be done, to take so severe a revenge on those that have injured them, that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come. By these ends they measure all their designs, and manage them so, that it is visible that the appetite of fame or vain-glory does not work so much on them as a just care of their own security.

As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules, that are sealed with their common seal, affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies

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country. This is carried secretly, and done in many places all at once. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons, on whom, next to the prince himself, they cast the chief blame of the war : and they double the sum to him, that instead of killing the person so marked out, shall take him alive and put him in their hands. They offer not only indemnity, but rewards, to such of the persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their countrymen. By this means those that are named in their schedules, become not only distrustful of their fellow-citizens, but are jealous of one another, and are much distracted by fear and danger : for it has often fallen out, that many of them, and even the prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most. The rewards that the Utopians offer are so unmeasurably great, that there is no sort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the risque that those run who undertake such services, and offer a recompence proportioned to the danger ; not only



vast deal of gold, but great revenues in lands, that lie among other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely; and they observe the promises they make of this kind most religiously. They very much approve of this way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel; but they look on it as a wise course, to make an end of what would be otherwise a long war, without so much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewise an act of mercy and love to mankind, to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both on their own side, and of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty; and that in so doing, they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no less than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.

If this method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the prince's



brother, or some of the nobility, to aspire to the crown. If they cannot disunite them by domestick broils, then they engage their neighbours against them, and make them set on foot some old pretensions, which are never wanting to princes, when they have occasion for them. These they plentifully supply with money, though but very sparingly with any auxiliary troops: for they are so tender of their own people, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the prince of their enemies country.

BUT as they keep their gold and silver only for such an occasion, so when that offers itself, they easily part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them, though they should reserve nothing of it to themselves. For besides the wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vast treasure abroad; many nations round about them, being deep in their debt: so that they hire soldiers from all places for carrying on their wars; but chiefly from the Zapolets, who live five hundred miles east of Utopia. They are a rude, wild, and fierce nation, who de-  
light



light in the woods and rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both against heat, cold, and labour, and know nothing of the delicacies of life. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, nor do they care either for their houses or their clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greatest part, they live either by hunting, or upon rapine; and are made, as it were, only for war. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themselves for a very low pay, to serve any that will employ them. They know none of the arts of life, but those that lead to the taking it away: they serve those that hire them both with much courage and great fidelity, but will not engage to serve for any determined time. They agree upon such terms, that the next day they may go over to the enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater encouragement; and will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their pay. There are few wars in which they  
make



make not a considerable part of the armies of both sides: so it often falls out, that they who are related, and were hired in the same country, and so have lived long and familiarly together, forgetting both their relations and former friendship, kill one another upon no other consideration, than that of being hired to it for a little money by princes of different interests: and such a regard have they for money, that they are easily wrought on by the difference of one penny a day to change sides. So entirely does their avarice influence them: and yet this money which they value so highly, is of little use to them; for what they purchase thus with their blood, they quickly waste on luxury, which among them is but of a poor and miserable form.

THIS nation serves the Utopians against all people whatsoever, for they pay higher than any other. The Utopians hold this for a maxim, that as they seek out the best sort of men for their own use at home, so they make use of this worst sort of men for the consumption of war; and therefore they hire them with the offers of vast rewards, to expose them-



themselves to all sorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their promises. Yet they make them good most religiously to such as escape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever there is occasion for it; for the Utopians are not at all troubled how many of these happen to be killed; and reckon it a service done to mankind, if they could be a means to deliver the world from such a lewd and vicious sort of people, that seem to have run together, as to the drain of human nature. Next to these they are served in their wars, with those upon whose account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends; to whom they join a few of their own people, and send some man of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who during his command, are but private men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken; and in case of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place: and thus they provide against ill events, that such accidents as may befall their generals, may not endanger their armies. When they draw out  
troops



troops of their own people, they take such out of every city as freely offer themselves; for none are forced to go against their wills; since they think that if any man is pressed that wants courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his cowardice dishearten others. But if an invasion is made on their country, they make use of such men, if they have good bodies, though they are not brave; and either put them aboard their ships, or place them on the walls of their towns, that being so posted, they may find no opportunity of flying away; and thus either shame, the heat of action, or the impossibility of flying, bears down their cowardice; they often make a virtue of necessity, and behave themselves well, because nothing else is left them. But as they force no man to go into any foreign war against his will, so they do not hinder those women who are willing to go along with their husbands: on the contrary, they encourage and praise them; and they stand often next their husbands in the front of the army. They also place together those who are related, parents, and children, kindred, and those that are mutually allied, near one



one another; that those whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach, if husband or wife survive one another, or if a child survives his parent; and therefore when they come to be engaged in action, they continue to fight to the last man, if their enemies stand before them. As they use all prudent methods to avoid the endangering their own men, and if it is possible, let all the action and danger fall upon the troops that they hire; so if it becomes necessary for themselves to engage, they then charge with as much courage, as they avoided it before with prudence: nor is it a fierce charge at first, but it increases by degrees; and as they continue in action, they grow more obstinate and press harder upon the enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give ground; for the certainty that their children will be well looked after when they are dead, frees them from all that anxiety concerning them, which often masters men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution. Their skill  
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in military affairs encreases their courage; and the wise sentiments which according to the laws of their country, are instilled into them in their education, give additional vigour to their minds: for as they do not under-value life so as prodigally to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it, as to preserve it by base and unbecoming methods. In the greatest heat of action, the bravest of their youth who have devoted themselves to that service, single out the general of their enemies, set on him either openly or by ambuscade, pursue him every where, and when spent and wearied out, are relieved by others who never give over the pursuit; either attacking him with close weapons when they can get near him, or with those which wound at a distance, when others get in between them: so that unless he secures himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or take him prisoner. When they have obtained a victory, they kill as few as possible; and are much more bent on taking many prisoners, than on killing those that fly before them: nor do they ever let their men so loose in the pursuit of their enemies,  
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as not to retain an entire body still in order; so that if they have been forced to engage the last of their battalions before they could gain the day, they will rather let their enemies all escape than pursue them, when their own army is in disorder: remembering well what has often fallen out to themselves; that when the main body of their army has been quite defeated and broken, when their enemies imagining the victory obtained, have let themselves loose into an irregular pursuit, a few of them that lay for a reserve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them in their chace, and when straggling in disorder, and apprehensive of no danger, but counting the day their own, have turned the whole action; and wresting out of their hands a victory that seemed certain and undoubted, while the vanquished have suddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dextrous in laying or avoiding ambushes: they sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give ground, they do it so, that it is very  
hard



hard to find out their design. If they see they are ill posted, or are like to be overpowered by numbers, they then either march off in the night with great silence, or by some stratagem delude their enemies. If they retire in the day-time, they do it in such order, that it is no less dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat, than in a march. They fortify their camps with a deep and large trench; and throw up the earth that is dug out of it for a wall; nor do they employ only their slaves in this, but the whole army works at it, except those that are then upon the guard: so that when so many hands are at work, a great line and a strong fortification is finished in so short a time that it is scarce credible. Their armour is very strong for defence, and yet is not so heavy as to make them uneasy in their marches; they can even swim with it. All that are trained up to war, practise swimming: both horse and foot make great use of arrows, and are very expert: they have no swords, but fight with a poll-ax that is both sharp and heavy, by which they thrust or strike down an enemy: they are very good at finding out warlike  
ma-



machines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy does not perceive them, till he feels the use of them; so that he cannot prepare such a defence as would render them useless: the chief consideration had in the making them, is, that they may be easily carried and managed.

IF they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously, that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies country waste, nor burn their corn ; and even in their marches they take all possible care, that neither horse nor foot may tread it down ; for they do not know but that they may have use for it themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection : and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, and put those only to the sword that opposed the rendering of it up, and make the rest of the garrison slaves : but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt ; and if any of them had advised a surrender, they give them good rewards out of the estates of those

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that they condemn, distributing the rest among their auxiliary troops ; but they themselves take no share of the spoil.

WHEN a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburse their expences ; but they obtain them of the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occasion, or in lands, out of which a constant revenue is to be paid them : and by many increases, the revenue which they draw out from several countries on such occasions, is now risen to above 700,000 ducats a year. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like princes ; by which means they consume much of it upon the place, and either bring over the rest to Utopia, or lend it to that nation in which it lies. This they most commonly do, unless some great occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it all. It is out of these lands that they assign rewards to such as they encourage to adventure on desperate attempts. If any prince that engages in war with them, is making preparations



parations for invading their country, they prevent him and make his country the seat of the war; for they do not willingly suffer any war to break in upon their island; and if that should happen, they would only defend themselves by their own people, and would not call for auxiliary troops to their assistance.

THERE are several sorts of religions, not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon, or one of the planets. Some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue, or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the supreme God: yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity; as a being that is far above all our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not by his bulk, but by his power and virtue; him they call the FATHER OF ALL, and acknowledge that the beginnings, the encrease, the progress, the vicissitudes, and the end of all things come only from him; nor do they offer divine honours to any but to him alone.



And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this ; that they think there is one supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call in the language of their country, Mithras. They differ in this ; that one thinks the God whom he worships is this supreme Being, and another thinks that his idol is that God ; but they all agree in one principle, that whoever is this supreme Being, he is also that great essence, to whose glory and majesty all honours are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees they fall off from the various superstitions that are among them, and grow up to that one religion that is the best and most in request ; and there is no doubt to be made, but that all the others had vanished long ago, if some of those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions, had not met with some unhappy accidents, which being considered as inflicted by heaven, made them afraid that the God whose worship had like to have been abandoned, had interposed, and  
revenged



revenged themselves on those who despised their authority.

AFTER they had heard from us, an account of the doctrine, the course of life, and the miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood, so willingly offered up by them, was the chief occasion of spreading their religion over a vast number of nations, it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I shall not determine whether this proceeded from any secret inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favourable to that community of goods, which is an opinion so particular, as well as so dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule; and that it was still kept up in some communities among the sincerest sort of christians. From which soever of these motives it might be, true it is, that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptism. But as two of our number were dead, so none of the four that survived were in priests orders: we therefore could only baptize them, and to our great regret, they could not par-



take of the other sacraments that can only be administered by priests: but they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them. They have had great disputes among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest, would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the pope; and they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that employment; but they had not done it when I left them.

THOSE among them that have not received our religion, do not fright any from it, and use none ill that go over to it; so that all the while I was there, one man was only punished on this occasion. He being newly baptized, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, disputed publicly concerning the christian religion with more zeal than discretion; and with so much heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane; crying out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious persons, that were  
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to be damned to everlasting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner, he was seized, and after trial condemned to banishment; not for having disparaged their religion, but for his inflaming the people to sedition: for this is one of their most ancient laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion\*. At the first constitution of their government, UTOPUS understood, that before his coming among them, the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion; by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer

\* It is plain that when our author wrote this history, he had not any bigotry and fiery zeal in his composition. But afterwards, some how or other, he became devoted to the passions and interest of the popish clergy to a degree of superstition: and even then, however, it must be confessed that his zeal carried him rather against the sedition which many run into who favoured the reformation, than against the doctrines which were taught. For as much attached as he was to the church of Rome, yet he was not so extravagant in his notions of the papal power as some others were: and his friend ERASMUS said of him, "that though he hated the  
 " seditious tenets with which the world was then miserably  
 " disturbed, yet it was a sufficient argument of his moderati-  
 " on, that whilst he was lord chancellor, no person was put  
 " to death for his disapproved opinion."



them; since instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves: after he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

THIS law was made by UTOPIUS, not only for preserving the publick peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion it self required it. He judged it not fit to determine any thing rashly; and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with this variety: he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another



another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. Even supposing that only one religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined, that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of arguments, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind: while on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion, might be choaked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns: he therefore left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they should see cause; only he made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature, as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise over-ruling providence. For they all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life; and they now look on those that think otherwise, as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a  
being



being as the soul, and reckon it no better than that of a beast: thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered common-wealth; since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs: There is no doubt to be made, that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetites. They never raise any that hold the maxims, either to honours or offices, nor employ them in any publick trust, but despise them, as men of base and sordid minds: yet they do not punish them; because they lay this down as a maxim, that a man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases, nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatnings; so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions; which being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defence of these opinions, especially before the common people: but they suffer,

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and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests, and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions, by having reason laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other extrem, though it is neither thought an ill or unreasonable opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged. They think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness. They are almost all of them very firmly persuaded, that good men will be infinitely happy in another state ; so that though they are compassionate to all that are sick, yet they lament no man's death, except they see him loath to part with his life : for they look on this as a very ill presage, as if the soul, conscious to itself of guilt, and quite hopeless, was afraid to leave the body, from some secret hints of approaching misery. They think that such a man's appearance before God cannot be acceptable to him ; who being called on, does not go out chearfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are struck with horror, when



when they see any die in this manner, and carry them out in silence, and with sorrow; and praying God that he would be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they lay the body in the ground: but when they die chearfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, commending their souls very earnestly to God. Their whole behaviour is then rather grave than sad; they burn the body, and set up a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honour of the deceased. When they come from the funeral, they discourse of his good life, and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftner and with more pleasure, than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think such respect paid to the memory of good men, is both the greatest incitement to engage others to follow their example, and the most acceptable worship that can be offered them; for they believe that though by the imperfection of human sight, they are invisible to us, yet they are present among us, and hear those discourses that pass concerning themselves. They believe it inconsistent with



with the happiness of departed souls, not to be at liberty to be where they will; and do not imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends, with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of love and kindness. Besides they are persuaded that good men after death have these affections, and all other good dispositions encreased rather than diminished, and therefore conclude that they are still among the living, and observe all they say or do. From hence they engage in all their affairs, with the greater confidence of success, as trusting to their protection; while this opinion of the presence of their ancestors is a restraint that prevents their engaging in ill designs.

THEY despise and laugh at auguries, and the other vain and superstitious ways of divination, so much observed among other nations; but have great reverence for such miracles as cannot flow from any of the powers of nature, looking on them as effects and indications of the presence of the supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes  
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their publick prayers, which upon great and dangerous occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner. They think the contemplating God in his works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worship to him.

THERE are many among them that upon a motive of religion neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure-time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things that a man does he secures to himself that happiness that comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend high-ways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn and other necessaries, on carts into their towns. Nor do these only serve the publick, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves do. For if there is any where a rough, hard, and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are  
frightened



frightened by the labour and loathsomness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they chearfully, and of their own accord, take that to their share; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labour: and yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other people's credit, to raise their own; but by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised, that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation.

OF these there are two sorts: some live unmarried and chaste, and abstain from eating any sort of flesh; and thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of the present life, which they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and painfullest methods possible, that blessedness which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more chearful and earnest in their endeavours after it. Another sort of them is less willing to put themselves to much toil, and therefore prefer a married state to a single one; and as they do not deny them-

selves



selves the pleasure of it, so they they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature, and to their country: nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labour; and therefore eat flesh so much the more willingly, as they find that by this means they are the more able to work. The Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect, but they esteem the others as the most holy. They would indeed laugh at any man, who from the principles of reason, would prefer an unmarried state to a married, or a life of labour to an easy life: but they reverence and admire such as do it from the motives of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their opinion positively concerning any sort of religion. The men that lead those severe lives, are called in the language of their country Brutheskas, which answers to those we call religious orders.

THEIR priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few; for there are only thirteen in every town, one for every Temple;



Temple; but when they go to war, seven of these go out with their forces, and seven others are chosen to supply their room in their absence; but these enter again upon their employment when they return; and those who served in their absence, attend upon the high-priest, till vacancies fall by death; for there is one set over all the rest. They are chosen by the people as the other magistrates are, by suffrages given in secret, for preventing of factions: and when they are chosen, they are consecrated by the college of priests. The care of all sacred things, the worship of God, and an inspection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be sent for by any of them, or for them to speak to him in secret, for that always gives some suspicion. All that is incumbent on them, is only to exhort and admonish the people; for the power of correcting and punishing ill men, belongs wholly to the prince, and to the other magistrates. The severest thing that the priest does, is the excluding those that are desperately wicked from joining in their worship: and there is not any sort of punishment more dreaded by

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them than this; for as it loads them with infamy, so it fills them with secret horrors; such is their reverence to their religion. Nor will their bodies be long exempted from their share of trouble; for if they do not very quickly satisfy the priests of the truth of their repentance, they are seized on by the senate, and punished for their impiety. The education of youth belongs to the priests; yet they do not take so much care of instructing them in letters, as in forming their minds and manners aright; they use all possible methods to infuse very early into the tender and flexible minds of children, such opinions as are both good in themselves, and will be useful to their country\*. For when deep impressi-

\* It is a reproach to our country and to the present times, that in our great schools in England, the boys are never instructed in the truth or doctrines of religion, nor any attempt made to form their minds and manners by the principles which it contains. They are taught to be scholars, without any intention of teaching them to be good men: and they know much more of CICERO or DEMOSTHENES, than they do of JESUS CHRIST, or of their Maker. To this fundamental error in our education, it is owing, that when these young men come abroad into the world, who are to be our governors, they are as ignorant of the religion of their country as the most illiterate husbandman or mechanick; and either take up with absurd, pernicious notions, or are led away into infidelity and every error of life and conduct.



ons of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much to preserve the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of ill opinions. The wives of their priests are the most extraordinary women of the whole country; sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom; nor are any but antient widows chosen into that order.

NONE of the magistrates have greater honour paid them, than is paid the priests; and if they should happen to commit any crime, they would not be questioned for it. Their punishment is left to God, and to their own consciences. For they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God: nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both because they have so few priests, and because these are chosen with much caution; so that it must be a very unusual thing to find one, who merely out of regard to his virtue, and for his be-

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ing esteemed a singularly good man was raised up to so great a dignity, degenerate into corruption and vice: and if such a thing should fall out, for man is a changeable creature, yet there being few priests, and these having no authority but what rises out of the respect that is paid them, nothing of great consequence to the publick, can proceed from the indemnity that the priests enjoy.

THEY have indeed very few of them; lest greater numbers sharing in the same honour, might make the dignity of that order which they esteem so highly, to sink in its reputation. They also think it difficult to find out many of such an exalted pitch of goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than ordinary virtues. Nor are the priests in greater veneration among them, than they are among their neighbouring nations, as you may imagine by that which I think gives occasion for it.

WHEN the Utopians engage in battle, the priests who accompany them to the war, apparelled in their sacred vestments, kneel  
down



down during the action in a place not far from the field; and lifting up their hands to heaven, pray, first for peace, and then for victory to their own side, and particularly that it may be gained without the effusion of much blood on either side: when the victory turns to their side, they run in among their own men to restrain their fury; and if any of their enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that means: and such as can come so near them as to touch their garments, have not only their lives, but their fortunes secured to them. It is upon this account that all the nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own people from the fury of their enemies, than to save their enemies from their rage. For it has sometimes fallen out, that when their armies have been in disorder, and forced to fly, so that their enemies were running upon the slaughter and spoil, the priests by interposing, have separated them from one another and stop'd the effusion of more blood; so that by their mediation, a peace has been concluded.



on very reasonable terms; nor is there any nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous, as not to look upon their persons as sacred and inviolable.

THE first and the last day of the month, and of the year, is a festival: they measure their months by the course of the moon; and their years by the course of the sun: the first days are called in their language the Cynemernes, and the last the Trapemernes; which answers in our language to the festival that begins, or ends the season.

THEY have magnificent temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them: these are a little dark within; which proceeds not from any error in the architecture, but is done with design; for their priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more moderate degree of it, both recollects the mind, and raises devotion. Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the  
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main point, which is the worshipping the divine essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples, in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it, in their private houses, nor is there any thing in the publick worship, that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images for God in their temples, so that every one may represent him to his thoughts, according to the way of his religion; nor do they call this one God by any other name, but that of Mithras; which is the common name by which they all express the divine essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be; nor are there any prayers among them, but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

THEY meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season: and not having yet broke their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end: the next day, being that which begins the new season,



season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period, upon which they then enter. In the festival which concludes the period, before they go to the temple, both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents, and confess every thing in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all little discontents in families are removed, that they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts; or with a consciousness of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any person whatsoever; and think that they should become liable to severe punishments, if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences. In the temples, the two sexes are separated, the men go to the right hand, and the women to the left. The males and females all place themselves before the head, and master or mistress of that family to which they belong; so that those who have the government of them at home, may see their  
their



their deportment in publick: and they inter-mingle them so, that the younger and the older may be set by one another: for if the younger sort were all set together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much, in which they ought to beget in themselves that religious dread of the supreme Being, which is the greatest, and almost the only incitement to virtue.

THEY offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering up their blood. They burn incense, and other sweet odours, and have a great number of wax lights during their worship; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add any thing to the divine Nature, which even prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God, so they think those sweet favours and lights, together with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's souls, and  
in flame



in flame them with greater energy and chearfulness during the divine worship.

ALL the people appear in the temples in white garments; but the priest's vestments are parti-coloured; and both the work and colours are wonderful: they are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor set with precious stones; but are composed of the plumes of several birds, laid together with so much art, and so neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the costliest materials. They say, that in the ordering and placing those plumes, some dark mysteries are represented, which pass down among their priests in a secret tradition concerning them; and that they are as Hieroglyphicks, putting them in mind of the blessings that they have received from God, and of their duties both to him and to their neighbours. As soon as the priest appears in those ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the ground, with so much reverence and so deep a silence, that such as look on cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a Deity. After they have been  
for



for some time in this posture, they all stand up, upon a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honour of God; some musical instruments playing all the while. These are quite of another form than those used among us: but, as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are made use of by us. Yet in one thing they very much exceed us: all their musick, both vocal and instrumental, is adapted to imitate and express the passions; and is so happily suited to every occasion, that whether the subject of the hymn be chearful or formed to sooth or trouble the mind, or to express grief or remorse, the musick takes the impression of whatever is represented, affects and kindles the passions, and works the sentiments deep into the hearts of the hearers. When this is done, both priests and people offer up very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words; and these are so composed, that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole assembly, may be likewise applied by every man in particular to his own condition. In these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good  
they



they receive; and therefore offer up to him their thanksgiving; in particular they bless him for his goodness in ordering it so, that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religion which they hope is the truest of all others: but if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better government, or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore his goodness to let him know it; vowing that they resolve to follow him whithersoever he leads them: and if their government is the best, and their religion the truest, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the world, both to the same rules of life, and to the same opinions concerning himself; unless, according to the unfearchableness of his mind, he is pleased with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to himself; not presuming to set limits to him, how early or late it should be; but if it may be wished for, without derogating from his supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered, and to be taken to himself, though by the most terrible kind of death, rather than to be detained long from  
seeing



seeing him, by the most prosperous course of life. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they rise up, go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion or military exercises.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that common-wealth, which I do not only think the best in the world, but indeed the only common-wealth that truly deserves that name. In all other places, it is visible, that while people talk of a common-wealth, every man only seeks his own wealth ; but there, where no man has any property, all men zealously pursue the good of the publick : And indeed, it is no wonder to see men act so differently ; for in other common-wealths, every man knows, that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the common-wealth may be, he must die of hunger ; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the publick. But in Utopia, where every man has a right to every thing, they all know, that if care is taken to keep the  
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publick stores full, no private man can want any thing; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity; and though no man has any thing, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich, as to lead a serene and chearful life free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he contriving how to raise a portion for his daughters; but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grand-children, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily; since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere of these that continue still employed. I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them, with that of all other nations; among whom may I perish, if I see any thing that looks either like justice or equity. For what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that



that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the publick, should live in great luxury and splendor upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder, even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labours so necessary, that no common-wealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs? For as the beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and and with more pleasure, and have no anxiety about what is to come; whilst these men are depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehension of want in their old age: since that which they get by their daily labour, does but maintain them at present and is consumed as fast as it comes in; there is no overplus left, to lay up for old age.

Is not that government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its favours to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths,



smiths, or such others who are idle, or live either by flattery, or by contriving the arts of vain pleasure; and on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as ploughmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist? But after the publick has reaped all the advantage of their service, and they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labours, and the good they have done is forgotten; and all the recompence given them, is, that they are left to die in great misery. The richer sort are often endeavouring to bring the hire of labourers lower, not only by their fraudulent practices, but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect. So that though it is a thing most unjust in itself, to give such small rewards to those who deserve so well of the publick, yet they have given those hardships the name and colour of Justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating them.

THEREFORE I must say, that as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know, than  
that



that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who on pretence of managing the publick, only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them, at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please: and if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established, by the show of publick authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws: yet these wicked men, after they have by a most insatiable covetousness, divided that among themselves, with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that happiness that is enjoyed among the Utopians. For the use as well as the desire of money being extinguished, much anxiety and great occasions of mischief is cut off with it: and who does not see that the frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are indeed rather punished than restrained by the severities of law, would all

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fall



fall off, if money were not any more valued by the world? Mens fears, sollicitudes, cares, labours, and watchings, would all perish in the same moment with the value of money: even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall. But in order to the apprehending this aright, take one instance.

CONSIDER any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger; and yet if at the end of that year a survey was made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there was enough among them, to have prevented all that consumption of men that perished in misery; and if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity: so easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life, if that blessed thing called money, which is pretended to be invented for procuring them, was not really the only thing that obstructed their being procured!

I DO



I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they well know how much a greater happiness it is to want nothing necessary, than to abound in many superfluities; and to be rescued out of so much misery, than to abound with so much wealth: and I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, added to the authority of Christ's commands, who as he was infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was not less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that source of so much misery, did not hinder it. For this vice does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniences, as by the miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a goddess, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult. Pride thinks it's own happiness shines the brighter, by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons: that by displaying its own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps into the breasts

of



of mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out: and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wish that all the world could be so wise as to imitate them: for they have indeed laid down such a scheme and foundation of policy, that as men live happy under it, so it is like to be of great continuance: having rooted out of the minds of their people, all the seeds both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of any commotions at home; which alone has been the ruin of many states, that seemed otherwise to be well secured; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighbouring princes, who have often tho' in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put their state into any commotion or disorder.

WHEN RAPHAEL had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war, as in their notions of religion, and divine matters;  
together



together with several other particulars — but chiefly what seemed the foundation of all the rest, their living in common, without the use of money: by which all nobility, magnificence, splendour, and majesty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away — yet since I perceived that RAPHAEL was weary, and was not sure whether he could easily bear contradiction, remembering that he had taken notice of some, who seemed to think they were bound in honour to support the credit of their own wisdom, by finding out something to censure in all other men's inventions besides their own; I only commended their constitution, and the account he had given of it in general; and so taking him by the hand, carried him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining this subject more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously upon it; and indeed I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of doing it. In the mean while, though it must be confessed that he is both a very learned man, and a person who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot

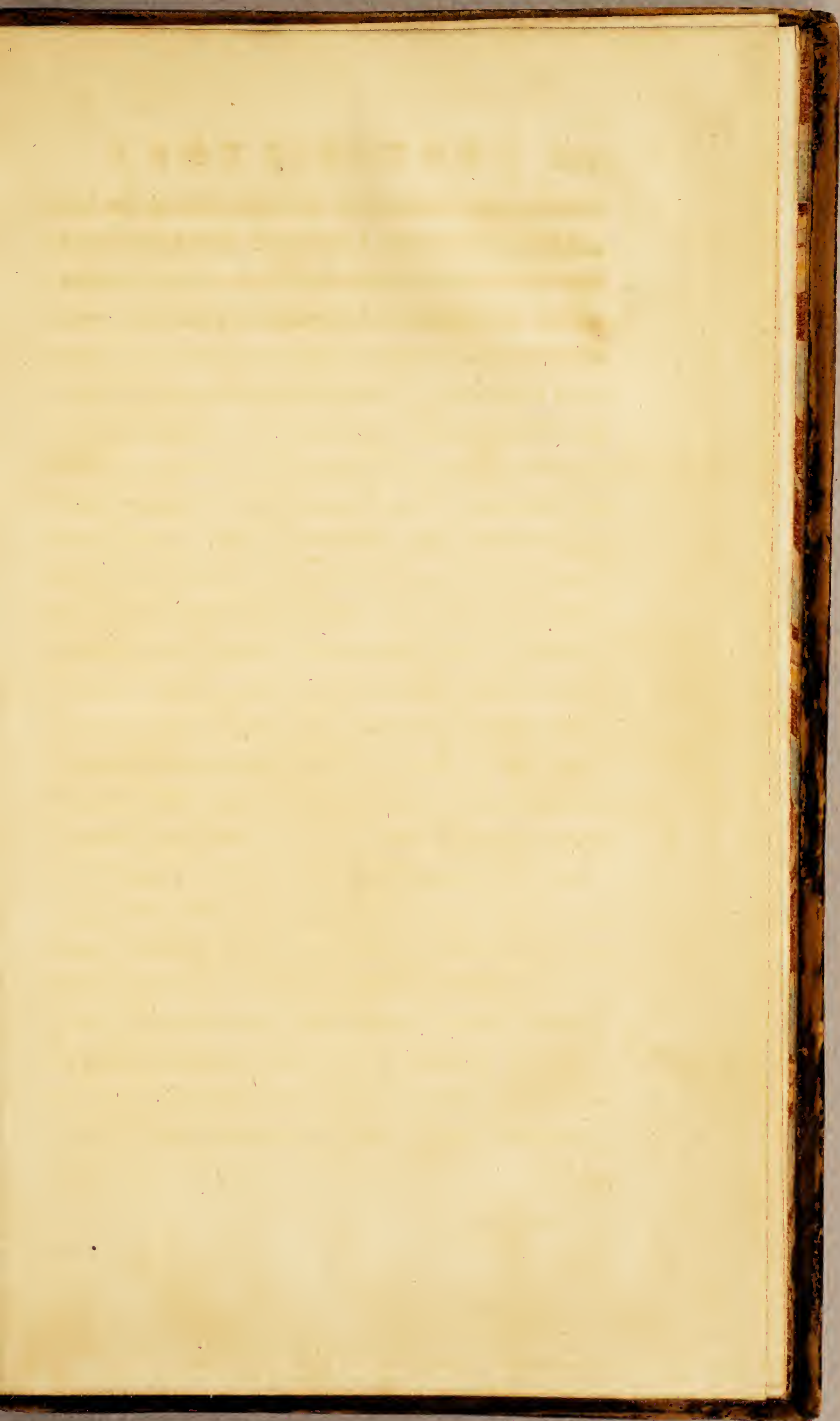


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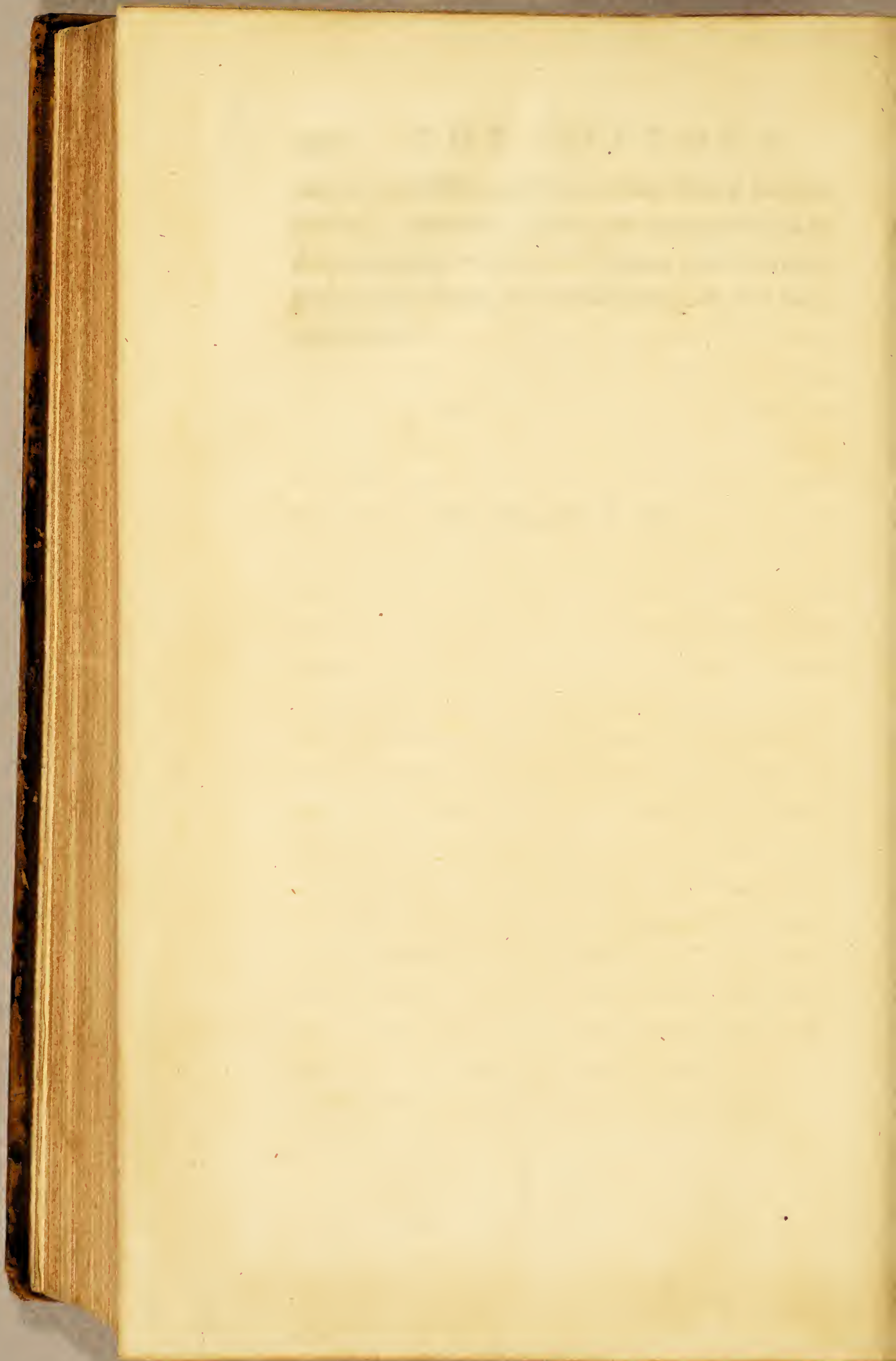
cannot perfectly agree to every thing he has related, however there are many things in the common-wealth of Utopia, that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our Governments.

F I N I S.





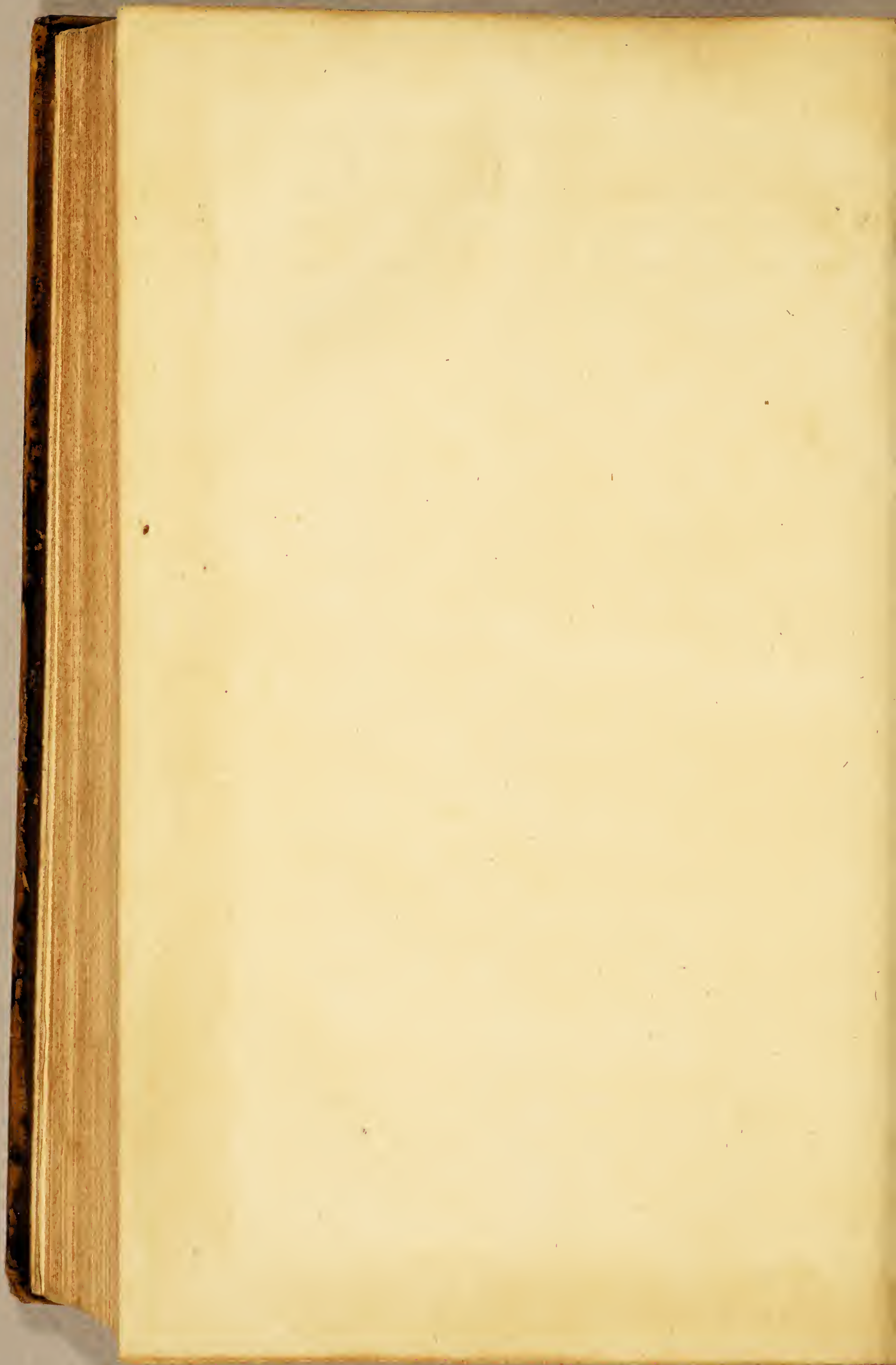














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